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RESOLUTION

ON THE

REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA,

FOR THE YEAR 1921-22.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of Burma in the General Department,—No. 389 D—42, dated the 15th July 1922.

READ—

Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the year 1921-22.

RESOLUTION.—The sum allotted to Burma for conservation of monuments during the year was just over Rs. 50,000 (excluding Public Works Department charges). The amount is lamentably insufficient for the maintenance of the many buildings of historical and religious significance which are scattered over the face of the Province, and leaves no margin for the work of excavation and research necessary to bring to light the archaeological treasures of which, as successive reports shew, an almost inexhaustible store still lies buried in the earth. Archaeology is at present a central subject, and the state of Central Revenues offers no prospect of more generous allotments in the future. This is but one of several reasons why all who feel the fascination of the slow but steady unravelment of the tangled racial and linguistic problems in which the ancient history of Burma abounds will hope to see effect speedily given to the recommendation of the Burma Reforms Committee that Archaeology should be in Burma a provincial subject.

2. The only works on which expenditure was at all considerable were the layout of the palace garden at Mandalay and special repairs to the Tilominlo Pagoda at Pagan. In paragraph 38 of the Report Mr. Duroiselle has some interesting notes on the Palace at Mandalay—notes which are to form the basis of an official guide to the Palace. Mr. Duroiselle shews that the plan on which the Royal City and Palace of Mandalay were laid out is one which was common in the past to many an historic Royal City of Asia, and tallies almost exactly with the plan on which Kublai Khan, first and greatest of the Mongol Emperors, built his capital at Peking over 6½ centuries ago. It may well be that one day the Fort and Palace at Mandalay will be, if not the sole, at least the most perfectly preserved exemplar of an Asiatic Royal City. They are also a worthy monument of King Mindón, one of the best and wisest of the Kings of Burma. Some years ago the Director-General of Archaeology described the Palace as not only the most imposing example of wooden architecture in Burma, but the only monument of its kind in the world. The Burmese people will naturally be anxious that no expense should be spared in keeping the Fort walls and the Palace and its subsidiary buildings in a good state of preservation.

The repairs to the Tilominlo Pagoda are likely to be somewhat costly. Approximately Rs. 12,000 was spent on them last year, and over Rs. 21,000 was

to have been spent this year, but owing to the inability of the Government of India to provide the full grant asked for for conservation, this figure has had to be reduced by one-third. The Tilominlo Pagoda was built in 1218 A.D. by King Nandaungmya to commemorate the spot where he was chosen to be Crown Prince out of five brothers. It is a double-storeyed temple, one of the finest at Pagan, and is decorated with pieces of sandstone glazed in a green colour, by an art which has since been lost. It is to be hoped that the purse-strings may be loosened next year sufficiently to enable the necessary repairs to be completed.

3. The only spot where excavation was conducted was at Samekshu village in the Meiktila District. The presence of archaeological remains here was first brought to notice two or three years ago as the result of a dream dreamt by a villager in which he was urged to go and dig in his cotton plantation. Foundations of a pagoda built on the Pagan model have now been unearthed together with a number of terra-cotta tablets. From these tablets and others discovered in the vicinity, the Superintendent deduces the existence in the neighbourhood of Thazi of an important settlement. The presence on the tablets of North Indian and Pāli writing would seem to indicate that the pagodas must have been of more than local importance, for there is no record of Pāli settlements so far north as Meiktila.

4. Another interesting find was the discovery of frescoes on the walls of the Kyaukse Cave at Pagan, some of which represent Mongol personages. Reproductions of two of these frescoes are appended to the Report. Mr. Duiroselle ascribes them to the year 1287 A.D., the date of the Mongol occupation of Pagan. There are several exhibits of Chinese origin in the Pagan museum and one well-known Chinese inscription (not yet deciphered) on a stone, on the other side of which is an inscription in Pū. There is ample evidence that Kublai Khan entered into relations with Burma, and invaded Burma more than once between the years 1271 and 1287 A.D. But details as to the occupation of Pagan by the Mongols are singularly lacking, and Mr. E. H. Parker, who wrote a book 30 years ago on the relations of Burma with China, while admitting that the local Chinese annals distinctly refer to the descent of the Prince of Yunnan on the Royal Burmese city of Pagan, was disposed to think that the Mongol army never reached that City, but only advanced as far down the river as Old Pagan, the ancient and earliest Burmese capital, situated on the site of Tagaung, halfway between Bhamo and Mandalay. It is to be hoped that future researches will throw more light on this historic invasion.

5. Another fresco discovered in the Kyaukse Cave shews a symmetrical pattern in which crosses occupy a prominent place (it is unfortunate that the photograph of this fresco is not appended to the Report). Mr. Duiroselle draws an interesting deduction from these crosses to the presence with Kublai Khan's invading troops of a number of Christian warriors. The deduction is a bold one: some of the crosses are the same as the multiplication sign, which is not a specifically Christian symbol. If however the design is not of religious import, it may perhaps be of interest as a very early specimen of Cubist art.

6. In paragraph 37 of the Report Mr. Duiroselle gives some interesting examples of the combination of European with Burmese designs, which is found

in a fresco on the Taungthaman Kyauktawgyi Pagoda at Amarapura built in the middle of the 19th century, in a tombstone erected in the old Amarapura cemetery in 1838 in memory of Don Shapendar, a Spanish Revenue Collector also at Amarapura, and in the panels of the entrance door of the Paya-ni Pagoda, If the first of these, a reproduction of which is appended to the Report, is a typical example, the combination cannot be said to give very pleasing results.

7. The Report contains much interesting lore, and has valuable contributions from Maung San Shwe Bu, the Honorary Archaeological Officer for Arakan, and Maung Mya, Archaeological Assistant. Mr. Duiroselle has succeeded in inspiring his small band of helpers with that ardent zeal for research into Burma's historic past, which makes him so pre-eminently qualified as Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma.

By order of the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma,

F. LEWISOHN,
Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Burma

REPORT

OF THE

SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA,

For the year ending 31st March 1922.

FIRST PART.

SECTION I.

Office work, giving details of programme carried out and of programme proposed for the ensuing year.

The programme for the year under report consisted of the following items:—

Programme for the past year and action taken with regard to it.

(i) The continuation of the compilation of a Monograph on the terra-cotta plaques with *Jātaka* scenes from the Petleik Pagoda, Pagan.

(ii) The compilation of a History of Architecture at Pagan in which will be included historical monographs on the principal temples.

(iii) The Architectural Survey of the Palace Buildings, Mandalay.

(iv) The compilation of an exhaustive list of inscriptions found in Burma, Part II, giving a list of names of persons, places, monuments, etc., found in the six volumes of inscriptions already published and in the *Hman-nan-yazawin*, with explanatory notes.

(v) The publication of some individual inscriptions with plates, transliteration, translation and notes.

Item (i).—The writing of the letterpress of this item was continued during the year, but for want of sufficient time it has not yet been completed although I hoped to be able to send it to Press during the year.

Item (ii).—More drawings and photographs of several monuments necessary for the compilation of the History of Architecture at Pagan were prepared during the year (*vide* Appendix E); and it is hoped that a good collection of such drawings and photographs will be made in the course of this year.

Item (iii).—I have proposed to take up this item when the "Monograph on the terra-cotta plaques with *Jātaka* scenes from the Petleik Pagoda, Pagan" [item (i) above] has been sent to Press; but as the latter has not yet been completed, this item (iii) is still kept in abeyance.

Item (iv).—Explanatory notes to the names of persons, places, monuments, etc., collected from the six volumes of published inscriptions and from the three volumes of the *Hman-nan-yazawin* are being written. But, as already mentioned in my Report of last year, this will amount to a good-sized dictionary and will take some time to complete.

Item (v).—A subsequent number of the *Epigraphia Birmanica*, i.e., Volume III, Part I, containing three Talaing inscriptions Nos. IX to XI by Mr. C. O. Blagden has gone through the Press and is now in final proof. It will be illustrated with 10 plates. The necessity of sending several proofs to England for correction by the author is a drawback to the speedy issue of these inscriptions. There are other papers already in manuscript and ready awaiting the issue of the above, and which will form Part II of this volume.

Besides the above there are two other items of work in hand: (1) the preparation of a list of European burial grounds in Burma with inscriptions on tombs anterior to the 1st of January 1858, and (2) the preparation of a "Guide

book to the Palace at Mandalay." Number (1) is completed and is now in the Press. Number (2) is well in hand and will no doubt be completed this year. 2. For the year 1922-23, the Local Government has sanctioned the continuation of the same amalgamated programme of Archaeological and Epigraphical work with the addition of the following as item number (vi)—The preparation of a "Guide book to the Palace at Mandalay."

SECTION II.

Tours and Inspection of Buildings and Sites.

3. The following statement shows the time spent on each tour and the places visited by the Superintendent and the Honorary Archaeological Officer for Arakan:—

Date.	Object of journey.	Number of days.
1921.	<i>Superintendent, Archaeological Survey.</i>	
June 13th to 15th ...	To interview His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma at Maymyo.	3
June 21st to 24th ...	On duty in connection with the Burma University, Rangoon.	4
September 8th to 12th	On duty in connection with the proposed transfer of the archaeological exhibits belonging to the Phayre Museum from the Secretariat to the Office of the Director of Industries, Burma, Rangoon.	5
September 21st to 27th	To inspect the archaeological buildings at Pagan ...	7
October 12th to 14th ...	To interview the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma at Maymyo.	3
October 20th to November 4th.	To inspect the archaeological buildings at Sagaing, Ava and Amarapura.	7
November 10th ...	To inspect the site of the old city of Amarapura now occupied by Sir A. K. Jamal for building his mill and its out-houses.	1
November 13th ...	Do.	1
November 24th ...	Do.	1
November 25th to 30th	On duty in connection with the Burma University, Rangoon.	6
December 5th to 14th	To inspect the archaeological buildings and sites at Hmawza.	10
1922.		
February 11th to 15th	To superintend excavations at Sameikshe Village near Thazi.	5
March 9th to 23rd ...	To inspect the archaeological buildings at Pagan ...	15
March 24th to 29th ...	To inspect the archaeological buildings at Pegu and examine the Kalyāni inscriptions.	6
	Total ...	74
1921.	<i>Honorary Archaeological Officer for Arakan.</i>	
April 19th to May 3rd	To inspect the Shitthaung Temple and other monuments and to copy inscriptions.	15
October 19th to 22nd	To inspect the Dukkanthein, Andaw and Pharabaw Pagodas.	4
November 11th to 14th	To inspect the Petu Pagoda and to attend a meeting of the Trustees of the Shitthaung Temple.	4
1922.		
March 3rd to 6th ...	To interview the elders of Mrohaung regarding an ancient gateway.	4
	Total ...	27

FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st MARCH 1922.

4. (a) My intention to visit Arakan again this official year could not be carried out for want of sufficient funds for the purpose. New funds were applied for to the Government of India, but the full necessary amount asked for to the granted, and the sum funded became available only at a time when circumstances were against my proceeding there. In view, however, of the importance of (see paragraphs 32 and 33 of last year's report), provisions have been made in the budget for 1922-23, and I hope to be able to visit this rich and interesting district in the course of next cold season.

(b) I went to Old Prome to inspect the archaeological monuments and search the jungle round about. The ruins seem to be somewhat more extensive than had been thought often in the least likely spots; some of these remains are quite old if one may judge by the size of the bricks, which is most often a good test as to the probable age of a building. No excavations could be undertaken as funds were not available. The special purpose of this visit, however, was to inspect the Bawbawgyi pagoda with a view to ascertaining whether the *débris* and earth which still cover the three lowest terraces and which had been left intact after the repairs to the dome of the pagoda under the vague impression that they strengthened the building, could be removed without imperiling the stability of the whole fabric. Some of the oldest and most important finds in this Province have been made some years ago while digging into a small portion of these *débris*. There is a probability of other interesting objects being found there, hence my desire to remove the rubbish, bringing to light, at the same time, the lower portion of this beautiful monument, which has been probably thus buried for some centuries. Mr. J. Chan Toon, Assistant Engineer, Public Works Department, accompanied me and after careful examination of the building, was of opinion that no harm could be done in clearing the *débris* off those three terraces. This work will now be undertaken as early as possible.

While at Hmawza, a monk called Nan-U Pongyi applied for permission to build a small monastery in one corner of the old palace site. After inspecting the spot permission was granted to Nan-U Pongyi on the clear understanding that, as the site is Government land acquired as an historical site under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, no portion of it could be granted to him permanently nor become at any time *Wuttagan* land.

(c) At the invitation of the *pongys* of Sameikshe and of the villagers, who desired to make excavation, at their own expense, at several spots where important finds had already been made some time previously, I went to superintend and direct the operations. An account of these is given in paragraph 27, pages 9 and 10, of this report.

SECTION III.

Recommendations made during the year for Conservation or Excavation.

5. A list containing 102 ancient monuments in Burma which should, henceforth, be maintained by the Imperial Government, was drawn up and submitted to Government for approval. These buildings are spread all over Burma; the earliest are those at Old Prome, some of which date from the 6th or 7th century, perhaps even a little earlier; the latest are at Mandalay, some of which, the Palace and the *pyatthats* (bastions) on the city walls, for instance, were built between 1857 and 1859; that is barely 70 years ago. But these Mandalay buildings are, however, invested with unique historical and architectural interest, and the help of the Archaeological Department is therefore indispensable for their proper conservation.

6. In connection with the list of ancient monuments above mentioned, proposals were submitted for the conservation and maintenance of the (i) Paya-thôn-zu, (ii) Thambula maintenance of the (i) Paya-thôn-zu, (ii) Thambula and (iii) Nandamanya temples at Min-nan-thu near Pagan. The Thambula is ornamented with beautiful frescoes, and contains wall-inscriptions in Pali and Burmese which constitute a stage in the history of researches in the development of the Burmese language. The walls of the Paya-thôn-zu and of the Nandamanya are covered with frescoes which are among the very best found in Burma, and constitute a precious document for the history of art and above all of Buddhism in this country, representing as they do a phase of Northern Buddhism extant at Pagan and Upper Burma before the middle of the 11th century. When I first saw them in 1916, they were on the whole in a good state of preservation; but the plaster on which they are painted is beginning to deteriorate and in some places threatens to flake off. The villagers in the neighbourhood of these temples are very poor and ill able to afford to undertake repairs to them; but even were they in a position to do so, it would not be wise, notwithstanding their good-will, to leave them to their own devices. Scientific repairs are urgently needed by these buildings, and should be taken in hand early to preserve these unique historical documents.

7. Proposals were also submitted for the conservation and maintenance of the Andaw, Ratanabon and Dukkanthein temples at Mrohaung in the Akyab District. These are buildings of unique architectural features in this Province, and bear silent testimony to the great outburst of building activity which spread over Arakan in the 15th and 16th centuries. The people there, though enthusiastic and willing to contribute in the measure of their power to the repairs, are poor, and the help of this department is indispensable if these beautiful buildings are to be properly conserved and maintained.

8. In paragraph 26, page 11, of my last annual report, mention is made of the removal of some Talaing mediæval inscription stones lying shelterless in the midst of almost impenetrable jungle about the Shwegugyi and Ajapala temples at Zainganaing near Pegu, in January 1921, and of the intention to have a shed built over them, spacious enough to house such other inscriptions as will probably yet be found in the jungle round about.

An estimate providing for the construction of this shed has been received from the Executive Engineer, Pegu Division, and is now awaiting funds. It is expected that the work will be taken in hand during the course of the current official year, a sum of Rs. 600 having been provided for it in the budget for that year.

9. This church is one of the very few monuments bearing witness to the short-lived activities of the Portuguese in those parts of Burma. The fence and the compound have been allowed to remain in a very neglected state for a long time, and they are in need of some repair and dressing. A sum of Rs. 249 has been entered for this purpose in my estimate for the year 1922-23.

10. The conservation of the Dhammayazaka pagoda at Pagan was proposed as one of the items of archaeological works for the year under report (*vide* paragraph 10, page 5, of the annual report for last year) but, owing to financial stringency, which necessitated the curtailment of the programme, this item of work could not be taken in hand. On the 21st September 1921, I inspected this monument with Mr. G. P. Connor, Executive Engineer, Pakkoku Division, and it was decided that a fresh estimate should be prepared to provide for the following items:—

(i) Repairs to the main shrine;

(ii) Repairs to the subsidiary temples on the platform;

(iii) Repairs to the platform and the circuit wall surrounding it; and

A sum of Rs. 12,000 has been entered in the estimate for the current year to allow the necessary repairs to the main shrine to be undertaken.

11. In paragraph 8, page 5 of the annual report of this Department for the year ending 31st March 1919, is given the Local Government, General Department Resolution on the formation of the "Mandalay Palace Garden Committee." The Committee originally consisted of 8 members; but this number has a great interest in the scheme, has left Burma for good; the previous Superintendent of the Garden is being laid out and its completion actively prosecuted, it is considered desirable that the public at large should be induced to take an interest in the gentlemen and ladies; it is also desirable that new members be appointed to discuss certain proposals in connection with the lay-out of the Garden, the Committee met on the 2nd July 1921 at Mandalay. It was the fifth meeting of the Committee since its formation in February 1919.

12. In the course of my tour of inspection during the cold weather of the year under report, I visited the Palace site at Amarapura, within the ancient city-walls. To my great dismay, I found that a factory was being erected on the most interesting portion of the Palace site. The remains of the enclosure walls of the Palace platform had been dug up and the bricks thus obtained used in paving the roads that were being constructed. There were traces showing that bricks were obtained also from the old city-walls for use for the same purpose. The whole of the site referred to above is within the area notified under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. It is to be much regretted that this Department was not informed of the intention to grant permission to Sir Abdul Jamal to build factories there. Representations were made to the authorities, and the work is now at a standstill. It should not be allowed to continue at any time, and what has been built should be dismantled.

13. Close to the Palace site, spoken of above, is a brick *pyattha* marking the spot where the remains of King Shwëbomin (1837-1846) were cremated, and which is commonly known as "Shwëbomin's Tomb." When I inspected it in November 1921, I found a hole had been quite recently made into it, by treasure-hunters, no doubt, under the impression that it contained valuable objects; although, as a matter of fact, it contains nothing, the ashes of the king having, after cremation, according to immemorial custom, been thrown into the Irrawaddy. This building had been standing there for many years absolutely unmolested. The damage was pointed out to the Agent in charge of the buildings above referred to, and he kindly undertook to close up the hole thus made.

SECTION IV.

Progress made in the preparation of the Provincial List of Ancient Remains.

14. It was proposed to remove from the list (mentioned in paragraph 5, page 3, of this report) of ancient monuments which should, henceforth, be maintained by the Imperial Government, any monument which had hitherto been protected, but regarding the historical or archaeological importance of which there had arisen some doubt. The "Pillars of Victory" which may now be seen in the compound of the District Court, Pegu, have been removed from the list on such a ground. There is nothing whatsoever

Since the above has been sent to Press, I am informed that the machinery and the materials of the mill buildings have been sold and will shortly be removed.

either in documentary evidence or local tradition to show that these two pillars, of different height and size, were ever meant to be "Pillars of Victory" contrary to what one should have expected in such a case, they bear not a line of inscription of any sort; nor have careful search and investigations revealed any trace of any South Indian inscription in their vicinity. It has now been conclusively proved that the places mentioned in the famous inscription of the South Indian King Rajendra Cola I, and which had been, rather hastily and on insufficient ground, identified with places in Deltaic Burma, are to be looked for elsewhere (*vide* paragraph 46 and foot-notes at pages 24-25 of the annual report for 1919). Moreover local tradition assigns to these pillars a quite different purpose. While in Pegu last March examining some fragments of the Kalyani inscriptions on behalf of Mr. Blagden, I made careful enquiries into the matter. Their result has been to show conclusively that a very old local tradition considers these pillars to have marked the spot, called "Hintha-gôn" (ထိန္တဂွံ), where, according to the traditions of the Môn race, the land first arose in the depths of the sea which still covered the deltaic plains of Pegu. Two such hillocks, each bearing traces of old monuments and called "Hintha-gôn," quite close to each other and separated only by a very narrow valley or rather gully, are pointed out as the memorable spot. It is not known when or by whom these pillars were erected; but the fact remains that they have for centuries been considered as commemorating the first emergence of this part of the country from the waves. These pillars, on being struck off the list, were made over to the Deputy Commissioner, Pegu, who will maintain them out of the District Cess Fund.

15. The Lieutenant-Governor was pleased to remove the monument described in the annexed schedule from the list of "Protected Monuments" within the meaning of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904 (VII of 1904), published in the General Department Notification No. 303, dated the 10th August 1908 (*vide* Government of Burma, General Department Notification No. 377, dated the 11th November 1921).

Schedule.

Serial No.	Name or description of monument.	Situated in the		
		District.	Township.	Town or village.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Pillars of Victory	Pegu	Pegu	Pegu

16. In resolution II of their resolutions made at a meeting held at Bombay on the 5th January 1921, the Indian Historical Records Commission decided to draw the attention of the Government of India to the importance of the preparation of correct lists of European burial containing inscriptions. The Government of India, in commending the resolution to the consideration of the Local Government, decided that—the Commission not having specified the period for which the list should be prepared—it appeared desirable to record all inscriptions on tombs of the 17th and 18th centuries and of the first half of the 19th century, that is, up to 1857 included. A list of European burial grounds in Burma with inscriptions on tombs anterior to the 1st January 1858 has been prepared (and is now in the Press) with the kind assistance of Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners, who enlisted also the precious services of some Chaplains and of Trustees of European burial grounds; thus was obtained a list of such cemeteries with copies of the inscriptions on tombs of the required period. This list, in order to admit of possible future additions being made easily, has been arranged division by division; the cemeteries in each division bearing serial numbers beginning in each case with No. 1; the tombs are entered according to their dates and also bear serial numbers. The list as at present compiled records 27 European

cemeteries containing altogether 266 tombs with inscriptions anterior to 1858. The earliest inscription yet found is dated 1682.

SECTION V.

Accounts of detailed Surveys and Excavations.

17. Some more drawings and photographs of the buildings at Pagan were prepared during the year under report. It is expected that with the staff I now have some will elapse before the work can be brought to a satisfactory completion.

18. In paragraphs 41 and 42 at pages 23 and 24 of my annual report for the year ending 31st March 1920, references are made to the discovery of certain archaeological objects at Sameikshwe, and hopes were entertained of making further finds if excavations were conducted there. Owing to want of time, I could not visit the place last year, but I visited it during this year and conducted some excavations there. The results are not very encouraging, but further finds were made, sufficient enough to show that that place and the country around were of some importance in the 12th and 13th centuries. For a detailed account of the excavations and the finds, please see paragraphs 27 and 28 at pages 9 and 10.

SECTION VI.

Accounts of Conservation Works proposed, carried out or in progress, and of expenditure incurred on them.

19. The following is the sanctioned programme of Archaeological Works for the Sanctioned Programme of Arch. 1921-22:—
Archaeological Works for 1921-22.

	Rs.
(1) Wages of Care-taker for the Old Portuguese Church, Syrian	144
(2) Annual repairs and unforeseen special repairs to Palace Buildings, Mandalay	5,000
(3) Wages of Durwans for looking after the Palace, Mandalay	3,000
(4) Cost of the maintenance of <i>pyathtaks</i> on the Fort Walls, Mandalay	2,400
(5) Annual repairs to Royal Tombs at Mandalay and Amarapura	100
(6) Annual repairs to Taungthaman, Taunggyi Pagoda, Amarapura	100
(7) Annual repairs to Pangon and Shwedali, Amarapura	300
(8) Clearing jungle around the Pagodas at Tagaung	250
(9) Annual repairs to Tazaung and Bell at Mingun	150
(10) Annual repairs to the Pinnia-paya at Mingun	50
(11) Annual repairs to the Tupa-pa Pagoda, Sagaing	100
(12) Annual repairs to the inscription shed at Sagaing	100
(13) Annual repairs to the Sinyame Pagoda at Mingun	900
(14) Annual repairs to the Alaungpaya's Tomb at Shwebo	20
(15) Annual repairs to shed over inscription stone in Court-house compound, Shwebo	6
(16) Annual repairs to Okkyauing, Ava	300
(17) Wages of Durwans to look after Pagodas at Pagan	1,600
(18) Maintenance of Pagodas at Pagan	2,600
(19) Clearing jungle around Pagodas in the Kyaukse District	180
(20) Annual repairs to archaeological buildings at Hinawza in the Prome District	300
(21) Annual repairs to Pillars of Victory, Pill Stone shed and the old Buoy now in the inscription shed, Pegu	40
(22) Special repairs to Tilominlo Pagoda at Pagan	17,655
(23) Additions and alterations to Sulamani Pagoda at Pagan	3,415
(24) Special repairs to Tomb of King Mindon at Mandalay	211
(25) Special repairs to Palace at Mandalay	577
(26) Special repairs to Queen's Tombs on the north and south sides of King Mindon's Tomb, Mandalay	42
(27) Fixing a Memorial Tablet on the Old East India Company's Factory on Haingyi Island, Bassein District	280
(28) Government contribution towards repairs to the Shitthaung Temple at Mrohaung in the Akyab District	5,000
(29) Constructing Palace Garden at Mandalay	12,530
Total	50,970
3 per cent. P.W.D. charges	11,723
For rounding	7
GRAND TOTAL	62,700

This expenditure is met wholly from Imperial revenues.

20. The following are works proposed to be carried out in 1922-23:—

Program of works proposed for 1922-23.	Ra.
(1) Wages of Care-taker for the Old Portuguese Church, Syriam	168
(2) Annual repairs to the Palace Buildings, Mandalay	5,000
(3) Wages of D... for looking after the Palace Gardens at Mandalay	3,000
(4) Cost of the maintenance of the Palace Gardens at Mandalay (wages of mials and cost of seeds and implements)	1,000
(5) Cost of the maintenance of pythats on the Fort Walls, Mandalay	3,000
(6) Maintenance of Monasteries at Mandalay by Trustees appointed for the purpose	1,000
(7) Annual repairs to Tombs at Amarapura and Mandalay	100
(8) Annual repairs to Taungthaman Kyauktawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura	100
(9) Annual repairs to Pangon and Shwedag, Amarapura	240
(10) Clearing jungle around Pagodas at Tagung	135
(11) Annual repairs to the inscription shed at Sagaing	100
(12) Annual repairs to the Okkyauing, Ava	200
(13) Annual repairs to Okkyauing, Ava	210
(14) Annual repairs to Sinbume Pagoda, Mingun	150
(15) Annual repairs to Tazauing and Bell at Mingun	50
(16) Annual repairs to Pindawgya's Tomb, Shwebo	20
(17) Annual repairs to shed over inscription stone in the Court-house compound, Shwebo	10
(18) Wages of Durwans for looking after Pagodas at Pagan	1,872
(19) Maintenance of Pagodas at Pagan	3,500
(20) Clearing jungle around Pagodas in the Kyaukse District and petty repairs to them	180
(21) Annual repairs to archaeological buildings at Hmawza in the Prome District	300
(22) Additions and alterations to Sulamani Pagoda at Pagan	5,444
(23) Special repairs to Tilmolani Pagoda at Pagan	21,581
(24) Special repairs to pythats on Fort Walls, Mandalay	600
(25) Constructing garden on the Palace platform, Mandalay	22,600
(26) Special repairs to the Dhammayazaka Pagoda at Pagan	12,000
(27) Providing temporary shelter for inscription stones near Payathonru Village, Pegu	600
(28) Special repairs to the fence and dressing the compound of the Old Portuguese Church at Syriam, Hanthawaddy District	249
Total	88,040
Add 25 per cent. P.W.D. charges	20,456
Add for rounding	4
GRAND TOTAL	1,09,490

21. (a) During the year under report a Buddhist monk named U Sittara of

Private enterprise in conservation. Pagan asked for permission to repair the Min-ochan-tha Pagoda at Pagan. This Pagoda is one of those monuments in the charge of the Pagoda Durwans at Pagan, but it is not a "Protected Monument" within the meaning of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (VII of 1904). The permission asked for was granted and it was suggested that he should undertake such necessary repairs in consultation with the Overseer in charge of the Pagodas at Pagan, and that his aim in undertaking repairs to the pagoda should be to perpetuate the old work rather than to introduce any hybrid form of his own.

(b) Maung Aung Myat, a Burmese gentleman of Nyaung-u, applied for permission to regild the *hti* of the Myat-thin-dan Pagoda which is situated in the west of Nyaung-u. This Pagoda is not a protected monument within the meaning of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (VII of 1904), but it is one of those monuments in the charge of the Pagoda Durwans. The permission to regild the *hti* was granted; and at the same time it was suggested that, as also undertake to do the other necessary minor repairs that the pagoda might be in need of in consultation with the Overseer in charge of the Pagodas at Pagan. It would improve the general appearance of the building and would be in keeping with the work he primarily intended to undertake. The applicant, having gladly agreed to do so, was also given to understand that the repairs to be undertaken should not be such as to obliterate traces of the original work.

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SECTION VII.

Notice of the subordinates and their work and of the changes in personnel.

22. Maung Mya, Archaeological Assistant, to which post he was appointed in July 1920, has given, as was anticipated, the fullest satisfaction in his new duties. He has been now in every branch of the work: conservation, excavation, epigraphy, and in the general office routine work. At paragraphs 39 and 40, pages 30 to 33 of this report will be found interesting little monographs from his pen on "Figure of a Buddha from Budh-Gaya at the Endawya Pagoda, Mandalay" and "On figures of lions at a small pagoda near the Patodawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura." I would call the particular attention of Government to Maung Mya's steady good work.

23. Maung Ngwe Zin has continued to give satisfaction in his work. He is beginning to make himself useful in other branches of the work and is to be commended for his energy in the discharge of his multifarious duties.

24. The clerical staff have continued to give satisfaction. Put there was much illness among them during the last cold season; the photographer and his assistant were again particularly bad, and their work has somewhat suffered in consequence.

25. The Honorary Archaeological Officer for Arakan, Maung San Shwe Bu, has continued his good work in this interesting district. He sent a short vocabulary of Mro and Khami to this office and I understand he intends to compile a much fuller one, with Mro and Khami stories and a sketch of the grammar of these two dialects; this ought to prove very useful material. The thanks of this Department are again due to this officer for his valuable assistance.

26. The archaeological scholarship was held during the year by Mr. W. Kyn Pu, B.A., who joined this office on the 1st August 1921. Mr. Kyn Pu is beginning to prove useful, and it is expected that his term of scholarship will be extended by another year.

SECOND PART.

SECTION I.

Full accounts of work of restoration and preservation of important buildings, and sites of excavations and fresh discoveries.

(27. In paragraphs 4 (c) and 18 at pages 3 and 7 references are made to my visit to Sameikshé for conducting excavation: there excavations at Sameikshé, on the invitation received from the local monks and elders. The inhabitants of three villages in the neighbourhood, actuated by their religious feeling, had spontaneously offered their services for digging gratis under the supervision of the Superintendent. Both monks and laymen showed a fine spirit of co-operation in the work which was very gratifying. As has been stated in paragraphs 41 and 42 of my Annual Report for 1920, there had been discovered from a ruined pagoda at Sameikshé some 30 terra-cotta tablets and a standing image of the Buddha in bronze which, on paleogeographical ground and technical details, may be attributed to the 12th-14th centuries A.D. Hopes were naturally entertained that some further and perhaps more important discoveries might be made there. The results, unfortunately, were not encouraging so far as this particular site is concerned. The place had previously been thoroughly dug up and, when I visited it, there were left only traces of walls marking a rough plan of the building that once stood on this spot. From the nature of the findings made there which have been already described in the Report just mentioned,

Other finds at Sameikshhe. While conducting excavations at several places, but nothing particular was found; the work was not, however, totally without result, for the examination of the bricks of the several mounds clearly show the buildings to have belonged to a period ranging from the 11th to the 14th centuries. I was invited to visit the Patodagwyi Pagoda and a Simā or Ordination Hall (*vide* Plate III) at Aungbintha village, a few miles to the south of Sameikshhe. Both are in a state of disrepair, and at my suggestion, U Vasavinda, a monk residing at Aungbintha, undertook to repair these two buildings, with the assistance of other monks. Of these two monuments, the Patodagwyi appears to date from the 11th or 13th century. I was able to ascertain more closely the age of the simā, from which there had been lately recovered a beautiful bronze image of a Bodhisattva which may be ascribed to the 11th or early 13th century. It was also reported that in a field not far from these two buildings many old coins were picked up by the

In the course of one of my visits to the Mingala-zedi on the road to Myinkaya, I examined one of the ruined pagodas near the Mingala-zedi and below the bell-shaped dome I found that a moulding on the top of a terrace and below the layer of bricks. Hundreds was actually built up with terra-cotta tablets, but for fear of undermining the stability of them could easily have been obtained, but for fear of undermining the stability of the building, which is very dangerously tilting on this side, I brought away only a certain number that could be detached easily, or were picked up among the *débris* fallen from the top. Many of them bear an inscription; but it is the first time that legends in several languages were found on tablets obtained from

the same monument. For some of these legends are in Sanskrit, some in Pali, others in Burmese and others again in Talaing; considering the date of the Pagoda, 11th century or early part of the 12th, as determined by the characters used in these legends, it is remarkable that there are none in Pyu, for the Pyus were then numerous at Pagan. On some of these tablets, the inscription on the obverse face is in Sanskrit in North-Indian characters, while the reverse contains a legend either in Pali, or Burmese or Talaing, in the Burmese letters then current.

There have been found, since a few years, a large number of these votive tablets all over the country, putting us in possession of a good number of different inscriptions in a variety of scripts and in several languages (two with a Pyu legend were found in Prome), and it is intended to publish an account of them with complete illustrations in a future issue of the *Epigraphia Birmanica*. Something has already been written on the subject, especially in the annual reports of this Department, but only spasmodically, and these notes are scattered and without illustrations. It will be doubly interesting if, for the sake of comparison, illustrations of votive tablets found in India, in Indo-China besides Burma, in the Malay Peninsula and elsewhere, could be included in the above; references to such tablets are found scattered in a variety of works, but unfortunately without any reproduction of them.

30. During the year under report a sum of Rs. 67,065 was spent on the conservation of ancient monuments in Burma as against Rs. 53,120 spent in the preceding year.

Conservation of ancient monuments in Burma.

A list of works sanctioned and carried out during the year together with the expenditure incurred on each is given in Appendix C, and it will be noticed that the items on special repair works are a continuation of those in the previous year. The Palace at Mandalay has, in addition to the annual repairs regularly carried out to keep it from certain and rapid decay, been now improved by having the garden on its platform practically completed. When the entire scheme is worked out, the sordid appearance of the platform caused by the decay and subsequent renewal of certain of the structures standing alongside the Palace proper will be toned down by the beautiful lawns and freshness of the flowers, and the place will be doubly attractive. Petty repairs, such as refixing loose carvings, making the roofs watertight, etc., to all the other lesser structures on the platform were also carried out. The repairs to King Mindon's tomb and to those of the Einbyudaw and the Medawgyi Queens situated near the Palace have now been completed. The Fort Walls, which have begun to show signs of deterioration at many places, have also received their due share of attention but their great length (one mile and a quarter on each face) naturally precludes a scheme of immediate repairs in their entirety. Of the Pyatthats on the walls, the one that is over the Eastern Gate of the Fort has been repaired and is now in good order. Pyatthar No. 6 has been similarly treated, while the Pyatthar over the South East Gate has been propped up and stiffened. Repairs to the last-mentioned Pyatthar will be undertaken as soon as funds permit.

All the other Pyatthats were red-ochred and oiled and repaired where needed. Owing to financial stringency and the great cost of laying out the Palace platform, work had to be curtailed outside, and so only a small amount of work was done on the Tawagyaung Pagoda at Mandalay and none at all on the Royal tombs, the Taungthaman Kyauktawgyi Pagoda and the remains of the Bodawpaya's Palace at Amarapura. The above are works comprised in the Mandalay Division.

In the Shwebo Division, annual repairs, which consist in clearing jungle and uprooting stumps of trees on and around the buildings and within their enclosures, were carried out on the Sinbyume Pagoda, the big Bell and the Pondawpaya at Mingun and on the Tupayon Pagoda at Sagaing. Okkyauang at Ava, Alaungpaya's tomb and the Inscription shed at Shwebo. Two main gates of the Sinbyume Pagoda were found loose and refixed and the other gates were closed up and repaired. Repairs were also carried out to the revetment wall protecting the Pondawpaya from annual flood.

At Hmawza near Prome in the Tharrawaddy Division, a sum of Rs. 295 was spent in carrying out the necessary and petty repairs to the Bawhawgyi, Babb and Lemyethna Pagodas. At the Babb Pagoda, the arch over the west corridor, which showed signs of falling, has now been supported with timber work, and the necessary repairs were undertaken to the wall in the Lemyethna Pagoda, which was dug into by cow-herds for honey.

The marble tablet with inscription for perpetuating the remains of the Old East India Company's Factory on Hainggyi Island in the Bassein Division has now been fixed up at a total cost of Rs. 674.

The works at Pagan in the Pakokku Division consist in undertaking annual repairs to the pagodas there, to which special repairs have already been undertaken and in the continuation of special repairs to the Sulamani and Tilominlo Temples. A further expenditure of Rs. 3,815 was incurred on the Sulamani Pagoda, this sum just allowed special repairs to be undertaken to the battlements, corner terraces on the second storey were also completed. Cracks in the arches over the vaulted corridors were carefully grouted and made watertight, and repairs to the scrolls and flame ornaments of the pediments over three of the principal porches were completed. A further expenditure of Rs. 12,192 was incurred on the above during the year under review. A great part of the work in the second storey and the two circuit walls still remains to be done, and it is estimated that it will cost a further sum of Rs. 25,000 to complete it.

The thanks of this Department are due to all the Officers of the Public Works Department concerned, especially to Mr. C. E. Whitcombe, Executive Engineer, Mandalay Division, and Mr. G. P. Connor, Executive Engineer, Pakokku Division, for the continued interest they have taken in the conservation of the ancient monuments in their charge. I may also mention the name of Maung Pan Maung, Public Works Department Subordinate, in charge of the pagodas at Pagan, for the energy and intelligence he has displayed in carrying out works entrusted to him.

SECTION II.

The epigraphical, numismatic, exploratory and other work of the Department, and its bearing on historical research, including reports on special subjects in which important discoveries have been made or information collected. (A brief reference only is made to subjects, on which special reports have been contributed to the General Archaeological Report.)

31. During the year under report, Volume II, Parts I and II, of the *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Volume II, Part I, has been noticed in paragraph 2 of the Local Government's resolution on my last report. Volume III, Part I, has been noticed in paragraph 2 of the Local Government's resolution on my last report. Volume III, Part I, is now ready and is awaiting copies of the plates from Calcutta for issue.

Part I, is now ready and is awaiting copies of the plates from Calcutta for issue. This part contains Nos. IX—XI of Mr. Blagden's "Môn Inscriptions," which form the last batch of the Early Môn Inscriptions in the present collection. Mr. Blagden writes, "The above record (No. XI) concludes the list of those which can with certainty be classed as Early Môn Inscriptions in the present collection. The Môn text of the Myazedi inscription, which really belongs to the same category, has been dealt with in *Ep. Bir.*, Vol. I, Part I, pages 53-8, but should be read in connexion with the inscriptions of this Section. In point of date it comes between Nos. IX and X above. The numerous but very short inscriptions of the Ananda Pagoda plaques (*ibid.*, Vol. II) also fall into the Early Môn period; and there are a few Môn inscriptions in Siam, as yet unpublished, which seem to belong to the same or (in one case at least) an even earlier epoch."

I have already pointed out in paragraph 36 at pages 21 and 22 of my Annual Report for the year ending 31st March 1920, the importance of the inscription No. IX. No. X contains a short inscription in four lines, each line being written immediately below the bottom lines of faces E-H of No. 1. It registers a royal donation, probably of law to the pago da, and makes a mention of a king bearing the title Sri Tribhuvanādityapawaradhammarāja. This royal name is borne at least by four kings of Pagan, viz., Alaungsthū (A.D. 1112-60), Narapatiśithu (1167-1204), Nandaungmya (1204-27), and Uzana (1243-8). On paleographical grounds, Mr. Blagden thinks that the writing is probably nearer 1112 than 1248, the two dates between which it would fall. No. XI is an inscription from Kyaukse, which also is not dated. It records the foundation of a *badhisatthi* at Kyaukse by the Chief Monk of the locality with the assistance of certain other persons. In this inscription *Kyaukse* is called *Kloksa* which spelling affords some indication as to the contemporary pronunciation of that place-name.

32. M.R.Ry. Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai Avargal, I.S.O., Secretary to the Madras Legislative Council, the well-known author of "Indian Chronology" and "Indian Ephemeris," has kindly volunteered to check the dates found in the several volumes of Burmese inscriptions. As a first instalment of this considerable work, he has checked the dates given in the volume "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava." These had far not yet been checked, and this list forms a very useful and important contribution to epigraphy in Burma, for which our best thanks are due to the author Mr. Swamikannu, after a careful study of about 200 dates, including those found in the Kalyani inscriptions of King Dharmapāceti, engraved in 1476 A.D., comes to the following conclusions:—

(i) the most reliable guide in the verification of Burmese dates is the *Sūrya Siddhānta*;

(ii) that many of these dates can easily be verified from his "Ephemeris, A.D. 700 to A.D. 2000," which is now in course of publication by the Government of Madras;

(iii) that the proportion of unverifiable Burmese dates (less than 20 per cent.) is much smaller than the proportion of similar dates in Indian inscriptions of the same period;

(iv) that a reckoning of "expired" or *gata* years side by side with "current" or *varitamāna* years, is found in ancient Burmese inscriptions to the same extent (about 20 per cent.) as in Indian inscriptions dated in the Saka era;

(v) that the week-day has to be relied on as the chief test in determining whether a particular year is an expired year or a current year;

(vi) that a Burmese Sakkarāj year rendered into English by the addition of 638, may be regarded as a current year, while one rendered into English by the addition of 639 as an expired year;

33. The curiosity of visitors to pagodas in Burma is often awakened by the image of a gracious woman, either standing or seated who, having brought the thick tress of her hair over her left shoulder before her breast, is in the act of squeezing water out of it. It is the representation of the Earth-goddess, known to the Burmese as *Wasundharyā*; she is bearing witness to the Bodhisatta under the Tree of Wisdom not long before he became the Buddha. This image is interesting in that the origin of the legend which it represents has not yet been found. No representation of *Wasundharyā* wringing her hair has yet been found in India; and no known Indian book contains the legend as known in Indo-China. This graceful legend,

¹ See Appendix II.

² These dates are marked with a cross (X) in the List.

³ Expired years are, in the List, distinguished by N.B.

⁴ From a form "Wasundharyā" which appears to be N.B. and proper form is *Wasundharyā* the Earth; it is properly a Buddhist divinity of inferior rank. The Burmese often pronounce her name *Mathundharyā*. In the Pāli extract from the "Pathamasambodhi" mentioned below, she is called "Wasundharyā."

as known in Cambodia and Siam, forms the subject of an interesting essay by M. G. Coëdès published some time ago.¹ The legend is found in a work written in Pāli, called the "Pathamasambodhi," and well known in Cambodia and Siam. This work seems to be rare if at all extant in Burma, for I have not been able to procure a copy, and monks do not seem to have heard of it. Here is the legend as translated from the Pāli work mentioned above. Māra, the Buddhist Satan, tree and take his place, for he says he (Māra), is entitled to it. Then Māra said (showing his army): 'I have no witness, Siddhattha; but where is thine?' The Bodhisatta replied: 'I have no witness, Siddhattha; but where is thine?' inanimate earth to bear me testimony' and showing with his hand 'his witness, this earth, which has quaked when I gave Maddi,' be now my witness. Then there is no gift which has not been made by me, who aspire to the possession of this throne, precept which has not been observed. Without mentioning my other liberalities, Māra, and the Earth quaked seven times.² And now that I am seated on this throne which has never been conquered, having for aim victory over the entire world, and fighting (for it) with Māra, how is it that the Earth keeps silent? Māra has taken his army as false witness; let this earth hear my voice and be my witness, inanimate yet visible! Like a golden lightning darting from a red cloud, the right hand of the Bodhisatta issued from his robe, illuminated with the lustre of its nails of the colour of coral, like unto the trunk of an elephant, and ornamented with the sign of the Wheel. Pointing this right hand towards the Earth, he said 'O, Earth! I have realized the thirty Perfections and, in my existence as Vessantara, I have made the sacrifice of my wife and of my children,' and I have distributed gifts by seven hundreds (of each) at a time; but I have no monk nor Brahman to bear testimony (to what I say), O, Earth, why dost thou not come to bear witness? Then the Earth, unable to resist the power of the Bodhisatta's perfections, emerged from the ground under the appearance of a woman and placed herself before the Bodhisatta; and, as if to say 'O, Great Man, I know that thou hast fulfilled the necessary conditions for the attainment of Supreme Wisdom, my hair is soaked with the water poured upon the earth to ratify thy gifts, and now, I will squeeze it out.' The Earth squeezed her hair and disappeared. The water flowed from her hair like the waves of the Ganges. Māra's hosts could not withstand the flood and fled: The feet of Gīrimekhala (Māra's elephant) slipped and he sank to the bottom of the ocean. The umbrellas, standards and fly-flaps were broken and fell. Seeing this wonder, Māra, astonished, said: 'The power of the Bodhisatta's Perfections has conquered Māra's army, and the torrent of water flowing from the hair of his witness has scattered it completely to the four points of the compass.'

I have given here the full story for two reasons; in Burma, it seems to be perpetuated only by oral tradition, extensive search and enquiries having failed to bring to light, up to the present, any work, in Burmese or Pāli, in which it is recorded; and because, although M. Coëdès thought³ that it seems to be a local legend peculiar to Siam and Cambodia, not being found even in the Life of Burmese Buddha translated by Bishop Bigar⁴ et, still, it is very well known in Burma, and exactly the same as recounted in the Pathamasambodhi translated from above. This Pāli work, probably composed in Cambodia or Siam is not, from internal evidence, an old work, though mentioned in the Gandhavyamsa compile⁵ in the 17th century, but the story of *Wasundharyā* itself, which it records, appears to be very old indeed. That it is old is borne out by the fact that the Earth-goddess is represented on two carved stones found in Cambodia, one at Angkor-Vat and the other at Vat-Nokor, where she is represented, exactly as in Burma,

¹ In "Mémoires concernant l'Asie orientale," Tome II, pages 117-22.

² This explains the attitude of the seated Buddha—'with his left hand palm upwards in his lap, and his right hand, falling in front of his knee, in the movement of touching the earth.'

³ Reference to the story of Vessantara, in which he gives his wife Maddi in alms.

⁴ Reference to the story of Vessantara, in which he gives his wife Maddi in alms.

⁵ Opud cit., 118.

² For instance at Sarnath, near Benares.

³ The calling to witness is as follows: ဝဏ္ဏုဗ္ဗေဗ္ဗိဗ္ဗေသံသံတံသဏ္ဌိဗ္ဗာသိသဏ္ဌထကံတံသဏ္ဌိဗ္ဗံ
သဏ္ဌိဗ္ဗံ. Let Wasundharyā, the Guardian of the earth, be a witness (to this my offering).⁴ Here he is
considered as a male.

34. Up to a few years ago, the date generally adopted for the beginning of the 20th century was 1901.

1 "Date of the final fall of Pagan as disclosed by two Burmese documents," pages 36-9.

Central-Asian influence. But the most interesting figures are those reproduced in Plate I. The first (fig. 1) represents a Mongol officer. He is seated on a low wooden stool; on his head is a helmet from the summit of which hangs back-wards what appears to be the tail of an animal. The upper part of his body is clad in a close-fitting jerkin adorned with rosaces, and his legs are encased in similarly close-fitting trousers; a bandana surrounds his waist. The features are very clearly cut, and the high cheek bone, almond eye, faint moustache and spare beard, are reminiscent of the Tartar type. A bird is perched on his left hand. It is not easy to make out exactly what kind of bird this is; the head itself is little bird-like. It is not a cock nor a parrot. I myself think it is meant to represent a hawk or falcon. As is well known, like the nobles of mediæval Europe, the Tartars were fond of hunting and hawking. As far as is known, hawking was never practised in Burma; there is no mention of it anywhere in Burmese literature; so that this sport was new to them, and the bird, in all probability, unfamiliar. This little detail of a badly drawn bird is interesting in that it shows that these pictures were painted, not by the Tartars themselves, but probably by some local artists. Quite familiar birds, as the parrot, the cock, the peacock, etc., the Burmese knew how to represent beautifully, as is attested by old frescoes, stone and plaster-carvings at Pagan and elsewhere¹. Figure 2 of Plate I represents a Mongol regular in the act of shooting with bow and arrow; he is dressed apparently much in the same way as the first figure, but has no hide boots like the officer. Such is, up to now at least, the meagre tangible evidence of the passage of Kublai Khan's warriors in the old city of Mien; passage which politically shook the country to its foundations, and tolled the knell of the first Burmese dynasty.

35. Not far from the figures of the Mongol officer and soldier, which form the subject of the preceding paragraph and illustrated in Plate I, are found pictures of crosses, unmistakably Christian crosses; as has been said above,

Christian crosses at Pagan in the 13th century.

Kyanzitha cave is a Buddhist monument; hence the interest of the Christian symbol on its walls, at the Burmese capital, in the closing years of the 13th century. The fresco is a square, measuring 30" X 30". The square is bordered by two lines of about a quarter of an inch each in thickness; the outer one is black and the inner pale yellow. Within this square, about one inch from the yellow line on the four sides is a geometrical figure forming another square and made up of thirteen small panels marked out by a thin yellow line; five are in the middle; of these the central one is somewhat larger, the other four coming in contact with it at each of its angles; around these inner five is a series of eight slightly larger panels, the space between all these figures being filled with the outlines of floral designs in black. It is in each of the eight outer panels or squares that the crosses are painted. They are yellowish; the fibres and the knots in the wood are very realistic, leaving no possible doubt as to the material intended to be represented. As is well known, the two principal forms of the Christian cross, and which were at first used indiscriminately, are the equilateral or Greek cross, and the *crux capitata* or Latin cross, in which the lower limb is longer than the three others; in course of time, the equilateral cross became the particular emblem of the churches in the East, and the cross with unequal limbs became popular in the West. Our fresco represents both kinds, and four of each, the Latin crosses being somewhat bigger than the others. These crosses which I doubt, at least of the presence of Christians in the Buddhist metropolis of Burma, that Christians had never set foot on its soil; there is, on the contrary, a reasonable likelihood to the contrary for, in the south of India, the Christianity had, at the end of the 12th century, been established for nigh on seven centuries already, and it had not been unknown either, though for a somewhat shorter period, to the north-west and north beyond Burma; unfortunately, there

¹ But some birds in Burma closely resemble the hawk; hence, the non-descript bird on the Mongol Officer's hat is probably to be put down to defective craftsmanship.

is no documentary evidence, internal or external, to enlighten us on the subject in Christians responsible for those representations of the cross in Pagan come? Were they settled there or merely passing through? These are questions an attempt to elucidate which may prove interesting.

There are two directions from which Christianity may have been heard of in west. There is a very old tradition that St. Thomas the Apostle chose India for Mount at Mailapur, a suburb of Madras. It was for a time thought that this legend rested on pretty solid foundations, but later researches have proved that St. Thomas never went to South India and was not therefore buried there. All the best early evidence, that is, from about the 3rd century to the 6th, tends to show that he evangelized the Parthian Empire, and that by India, he is understood to have also carried his labours into a region including the Indus Valley, but never went any further to the south of it into Hindustan proper. The first reliable intimation we have of the existence of Christianity in Southern India dates from the 6th century and is found in the works of Cosmas Indicopleustes (535 A.D.). He travelled in South India and tells us that in Ceylon there was then "a church of Christians with clergy and a congregation of believers," he did not know, however, whether Christianity was established anywhere further East; he adds that there were Christians also at Malā, that is Malabar. These Christians were of East Syrian origin, and had come to India probably to avoid persecution. The Christians in Malabar were, and are known as the "Christians of St. Thomas"; there is no doubt they were Nestorians; St. Thomas seems to have been the special saint, hence the pious legend that he had evangelized South India and was buried there. From that early period there were Nestorians in Malabar up to the time they were converted by Catholic missionaries in the 16th century. Such being the case, and considering the relations, commercial and otherwise, which existed between Burma and Southern India since the early centuries of our era; considering also the extraordinarily expansive and proselyting spirit of the Nestorians, who soon became known almost all over Asia, there is a great probability that Christians of St. Thomas, laymen or clergy or both, found their way to Burma at some time or other; if so, whether their influence was in any way felt, whether they succeeded in founding here and there small Christian communities, as they had done in India, is a problem which will probably never be solved. The fact that the crosses found at Pagan are painted on the walls of a Buddhist monument, goes, I think, far to show the unlikelihood of a community, however small, of South Indian Nestorians being established at the Burmese capital; in such a case, they would have had a church, or a chapel or at least a house wherein to meet; and would not have painted crosses in a Buddhist cave. Presumptive evidence points rather to the north-west as the route by which these Christian symbols came to Burma.

The history of the spread, at an early period, of Christianity in the East, that is, Central Asia and China was up to a few years ago rather involved, and forms the subject of a rather voluminous, but intensely interesting literature. It is the Nestorians who were the first apostles of this vast extent of territory. Nestorius was the patriarch of Constantinople, and after the condemnation of his heresy by the Council of Ephesus in 431 and his banishment, his opinions began to spread rapidly in Persia. It is however about the 7th and 8th centuries that their progress further East—Central Asia and China assumes a

¹ The broad tolerance of those times would have viewed such a building with disfavour; there can still be seen a Vishnuite temple rising in the midst of some of the grandest Buddhist monuments, as at Duroiselles "the Nat-Hlung-Kyauing, Pagan," in Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, for 1912-13, page 136 ff.

² The literature on the history of the Christians of St. Thomas and early Christianity in Southern India is rather voluminous; the interested reader is referred to the following: C. Swannston, A. Memoir of the Primitive Church of Malabar, or the Syrian Christians of the Apostle Thomas; J. B. A. S. I., pages 172-192, Primitive Church of Malabar, or the Syrian Christians of the Apostle Thomas; S. Levi, Notes sur les Indes-Scythies, III, and II, 46-62, 243-247, Yule's Marco Polo, *violen* Index, S. Levi, Notes sur les Indes-Scythies, I, connection of St. Thomas, Gondophares, Marzades, in Journal Asiatique, 1897, W. R. Phillips, The connection of St. Thomas with India, in Indian Antiquary, 1903, pages 1, 145; this last is a splendid work and has about said the last word on the subject.

real importance. There was already a Metropolitan See established in China in the middle of the 9th century, and the Nestorians were numerous in Central Asia; in fact, they were found all along the route from Persia to China, principally on land, but also along the sea route. It is not the place here to follow their fortunes. Suffice it to say that in China proper they suffered a heavy blow when the edict for their proscription was promulgated in 845, though there is evidence that they continued to exist, if not exactly to flourish, in Central Asia. There was a great recrudescence of missionary activity in the 12th and 13th centuries, during the reigns of the Great Mongol Khans: Chinghiz, Okkoidai, Kuyuk, Mangu, Kublai; at the beginning of the 13th century, the Nestorians were very numerous among the Ouigurs, the Mongols and the Tanguts, the Keraites (Kitan) had been converted at least a century before that. All these Great Khans appear to have been rather indifferent in the matter of religion, above all that professed by their subjects, though they themselves had rather a leaning towards Buddhism. But they took great delight in listening to discussions among adherents of rival cults: Taoists, Buddhists, Musulmans, Nestorians and sometimes Catholics. Guillaume de Rubruck, a Franciscan monk, who was sent among the Tartars by St. Louis, King of France, and who resided at the court of Mangu for some time, tells us of such a discussion which took place on the 31st of May 1254, at Karakorum, between Musulmans, Buddhists and Nestorians, and in which the Buddhists were worsted. He reached the Mongol court at Karakorum in 1253, and tells us how he met, in a tent surmounted by a cross, not far from that of the Great Khan, an Armenian monk who had come from Jerusalem to convert the Emperor Mangu; how the Khan and his family attended, impartially, the religious ceremonies of Buddhists, Christians and Mahomedans; how, again, the chief wife of Mangu, and her children and some ladies, came to the Nestorian chapel. They all prostrated themselves on the ground, touched the images with their right hand and then kissed it; Mangu also came in and made the Franciscans sing hymns. The little details show how Christianity, in several of its forms: Catholic, Armenian, Nestorian, was not only tolerated but revered by some of the very highest at the court of the Great Khans. That among the immediate entourage of these Tartar Emperors, among their troops and officers, there was a large number of Christians cannot be doubted; historical records, as a matter of fact, prove this to have been the case. It is even recorded by Plan Carpin that the Great Khan Kuyuk (died 1248) had intended becoming a Christian. The conditions during the reign of Kublai Khan (1260—1294), whose troops took Pagan in 1287, were in no way different from those obtaining under his predecessors; he himself had a Christian bodyguard of 1,000 warriors, and Christians were to be found among his troops and no doubt among his officers. We learn from a Chinese work of the 12th century, quoting an earlier work of the 11th century, that there was a Nestorian church at Ch'eng-tu in Sze-Ch'wan built by people from Central Asia; and Marco Polo is quite explicit as to the existence of Nestorians in Yunnan in the 13th century.

The above sketch is necessarily very short and therefore imperfect, and the reader, for fuller information, is referred to the principal works on the subject¹; but even so it will be seen that the assumption that there were at least some

¹ The Tanguts, as they are also known, the Si Hia, were the descendants of the Tang Yang, and therefore of Tibetan origin, and their language belonged to the Tibeto-Purman family. As early as the 8th century they had spread along the upper course of the Yellow River. In the 11th century the kingdom corresponded to the province of Kan Su. Si Hia (the Western Hia) was properly the dynastic of the kingdom; it originated in 883, when the chief of the Tang Yang helped the Emperor Hui Tsung to defeat the rebel Hung Ch'au; as a reward he was affiliated to the imperial clan of Hia, and created Duke of Hia. The Tanguts were for a time a thorn in the side of China. They were conquered in 1227 by the Mongols.

² There was a good number of travellers to Central Asia and China in the 13th century; but the following are the principal, from whose works and letters much knowledge has been derived: J. de Plano Carpini (Plan Carpin), sent in 1245 by Pope Innocent IV with a letter to the Tartar Emperor and the people returned to France in 1247; William of Rubruck (Guillaume de Rubruck) sent by St. Louis in 1253; returned in 1255; Hayton (Hethum) I, King of Little Armenia, started in 1254 and returned in 1262; Marco Polo, the greatest and most interesting of all, 1271—1295. Jean de Monte-Corvino started in 1291 and resided in China for many years.

³ Vule's Marco Polo; W. W. Rockhill's William of Rubruck; D'Ohsan, Histoire des Mongols; Havret, Seule chrétienne de Singan-fou; Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale; etc. See also foot-note 2.

Christians in the Mongol contingent which reached Pagan, rests on solid foundations and carries a feeling of *raisonnable*, not to say certitude, which a careful study of the subject serves only to strengthen. How long were the Mongols in Pagan after its fall? Probably not very long; a few weeks at the most; long enough, anyway, to allow them to paint or cause to be painted, all those curious frescoes mentioned in the foregoing paragraph on the walls of the Kyanzitha of warriors, monks and others bearing unmistakable Mongolo-Chinese characteristics, tends to show that these crosses were painted by, or at the instance of, Christians among the troops of the Great Khan who entered Pagan in 1287.

In paragraph 44, page 17 of my Annual Report for the year ending 31st March 1914, reference is made to the frescoes in the temples at Pagan and to the imminent danger in some cases, of their disappearing, owing to several causes. There is no doubt that, except in a few isolated instances, the art of painting has never attained a high degree of perfection in Burma. In point of technique and inspiration, they cannot compare with those of India, Central Asia, China or even of Ceylon; still they hold an honourable place in the history of painting in the East, and some of the isolated instances above referred to are really fine. In many cases, much of their importance is historical. They date from the early part of the 12th century, some of them perhaps earlier, down to a very late period, and thus furnish the student with a continuous series of examples of remarkable interest. Those painted scenes are often explained by inscriptions in the script of the period to which they belong, in Pali, Burmese, and, much more seldom, in Talaing. Temples with such frescoes and legends are numerous, though many have been irremediably destroyed by the too frequent application of whitewash in years gone by.

Many temples contain short inscriptions written in ink on the walls, and referring to repairs or gifts or other occurrences. Their interest lies in that they offer, through the course of the centuries, several examples of writing important for the history of the development of this art in Burma; they are precious also for a history of the evolution of the Burmese language, acting as they do the usage of the several periods in which they were written. There is danger that these inscriptions also may sooner or later disappear owing to the same cause which operates in the case of the frescoes.

During my last visit to Pagan I re-examined a large number of these frescoes and found that some had already succumbed to the action of time and weather. Under the present financial stringency, the chances of having the temples repaired with a view to preserve these frescoes as well as the ink inscriptions is rather remote, and I can only have resort to the easier and less expensive method of rescuing them before it is too late, and that is, photographing in the first instance and having later on, the most important and beautiful exactly copied and painted. A certain amount have already been photographed and faithful copies of others have been traced and painted; but much still remains to be done for some years to come. Likewise, the ink inscriptions on the walls will be photographed in the order of their age or decay.

37. Although Europeans have known Burma for now nigh on five centuries¹ and European influence made itself felt gradually in many ways: economic, political, etc., it does not appear to have made itself felt for some centuries in Burmese religious art and architecture; in so much at least as I am aware, Burmese temples and their decorations show not the least trace of such influence till the beginning of the 19th century, and then only at

¹ The first European who visited Burma was Nicolo di Conti; he was from a Venetian family and was in the East about 1430. Next came the Russian Nikitin who, during his travels in the East Arakan, and at Ava about 1470. Two centuries later, Hieronimod St. Stephano and Hieronimo Adorno, came from South India to Pegu; the latter died there in 1591 and was buried by his friend St. Stephano in a church then in ruins; this seems to indicate that they may have been a mission in Pegu before that time. Whether the church then had been Catholic or Nestorian, there is no means of ascertaining; but from the early centuries of our era, there had been Nestorian Christians in Malabar and in Ceylon. After the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in November 1497 and the arrival of Vasco da Gama at Calicut in May 1498, the influx of merchants and others to Burma becomes almost uninterrupted.

Amarapura, the then capital. But that influence is unmistakable, above all as regards the frescoes and sculptures ornamenting some temples and monasteries. The T'ing-t'ang Kyauktawgyi temple at Amarapura furnishes the best examples. This temple was built in 1847 by King Pagan; the Burmese architects took as their model the famous and beautiful Ananda temple at Pagan; the copy, when compared with the original, falls very far short of the mark and discloses the inability of the 19th century masons to reproduce certain architectural details which were splendidly executed in the heyday of Pagan; the reason perhaps is that the Amarapura temple was constructed entirely by Burmese architects, while that at Pagan was designed and built by Indians. Such as it is, however, it really is a beautiful building, and one of the best to be found in the neighbourhood of Mandalay. The monument, though imposing, falls short of the lightness and gracefulness of the Ananda and does not evince the same vigour of conception and boldness of execution. The walls and ceilings of the four porticoes and the vaulted corridors giving access to the interior of the building are decorated with interesting frescoes well worth preserving; they represent the Kyauktawgyi himself, some famous gopas and noble monasteries at Nyaung-u, Pagan and Rangoon; two beautifully painted *Buddhapada* or Buddha's footprint; signs of the zodiac, in which the deities of the constellations are seen riding in their chariots; some scenes of the Buddha's career; *vidyadhara*s, a class of genii, *devas*, ogres, etc.; the moon is seen coursing through the heavens, and is represented as an orb containing the mythical hare in a chariot surmounted by a five-roofed prasada. Excepting the northern portico, in which a portion of the plaster stucco has peeled off, all these frescoes are in a good state of preservation. The human figures depict the dress of the period. All these are purely Burmese both in ideas and in technique. There is, however, in the spandril of the arch of the east porch, just within the monument, a beautifully executed fresco which is frankly European in conception and execution; see Plate II, figure 1; the photograph unfortunately does not do full justice to the fresco. The painting represents two angels, Christian angels, though rather scantily clad (a concession perhaps to the climate), with outspread wings, on each side of the spandril, on the left a male and on the other side a female. Buddhist art and consequently Burmese art never represents angels (*devas*) with wings, but simply as an ordinary figure placed a little above the others in the scene, with the legs almost in the attitude of running, and with some wavy lines under the feet to represent the air through which the *deva* is flying; should the angel be seated in mid-air, the same wavy lines indicate he is no ordinary human. Should all the other details be Burmese, the wings alone would be sufficient to indicate Western influence. The features are thoroughly European, as well as the coiffure, the hair of which is golden; the colour of the body, delicate pink and white; the very way the draperies are arranged is not Burmese; the ornament in the middle of the spandril from which the draperies depend which the angels are holding, resembles an urn, is Western in design and is never found in Burmese painting or plaster carvings. Here then, we have, painted on the wall of a Buddhist temple, a subject also found in the spandrils above the arches on the outer face of the walls of the main shrine, small angels in plaster carving, almost in the round and with outspread wings, European faces, etc., of whose Western origin there can be no doubt.

There is in the possession of Mr. R. C. J. Swinhoe, at Mandalay, a wooden panel, which he obtained years ago from a ruined monastery at Amarapura. Carved on it is also an angel, with wings, holding a cloth beautifully carved legs. In this case, however, the artist was manifestly a Burman, working from that the face, so far as the features are concerned, is a failure; the carver manifestly strove but did not quite succeed in giving it the European cast; a glaring detail is that this angel is clad in what looks like a pair of drawers falling below the knees, with a frill round the waist. Notwithstanding this anachronism,

¹ See for instance, in *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Volume II, Part II, "Falsing Plaques on the Ananda," Plates 1, figure 45; XXIV, figure 100; LIII, figure 220; LVII, figure 241, etc.

this piece of sculpture is well executed and constitutes an interesting document.

There is at Amarapura also another sculpture in which somewhat similar angels are found, the whole scene being thoroughly Western and Christian. It is drawn by a European, but executed by a Burman. The design was most probably into three panels; the lowermost contains an epitaph in both English and Burmese. The English contains 41 lines and runs as follows:—"Here lie the remains of Don Gonzalez Delanciego Manye Ars Shapendar of Rangoon who died at Amarapura on the 11th day of November A.D. 1838, aged seventy-two years." The Burmese is somewhat more explicit and tells us that the deceased was a Spaniard (သီဟသူရ) who was the Revenue Collector of Hanthawaddy. He was therefore a Catholic. The upper two panels represent the day of the Last Judgment. In the middle of the topmost panel, dividing it into two parts, is a chalice; on each side of it, just a little higher than it, is a parrot, with high crest and flowing tail, each facing the chalice, behind each parrot are floral designs. The birds and floral designs are beautifully executed. At each extremity of the panel, right and left, is a head just above outspread wings; those are angels with the head only visible. In the middle panel, right under the chalice is a cinque-foiled arch, representing a porch, above which stands a cross. The arch is in no way different from those seen in Buddhist temples at Amarapura and elsewhere; this arch represents the entrance into heaven. On each side of it, and facing outwards, is an angel, with wings and a crown of flowers; he is entirely divested of clothes and, seated with pendant legs on a cloud, is blowing the trumpet of the Last Judgment. The quaintness of this sculpture is that, as in the wooden panel above mentioned, an evident effort has been made to give the four angels a European cast of countenance, but the result did not come up to the Burmese artist's expectations; this unfortunate failure, together with the parrots, and the beautiful Burmese arched gateway into Heaven, present a mixture of European and Burmese association of ideas which is quite delightful.

Near the north-east corner of the old city walls, between and quite close to the Petpā village also known as Pyattatkyi village and the Taungthaman lake is a quaint temple known as Paya-ni; it is of a style all its own, and as far as I know the only example of its kind in Burma; it was built by the Taungu Prince, son of King Bodawpaya (1781—1819). The beautiful standing Buddha image in the sanctuary was executed by the famous artist Leik-taung-wé, now better known as *Le-daung-wé*. The striking feature of this small temple is the wooden door at its principal entrance. Each leaf of this door is divided into a number of small sunk panels about one foot square. Each panel contains, very well carved, a design quite foreign to Burmese and eastern conceptions and clearly heraldic in character; they must have been copied from some Western heraldry book; see Plate II, figure 2. Here again we find pure European conceptions used in the decoration of a Buddhist monument. As is well known, there was at that time, and there had been for a pretty long time before it, a large and mixed community of Europeans in Upper Burma, both at the capital and at several other places: English, Portuguese, Italians, French, Spaniards. This fact explains the frescoes and sculptures just described; but it is remarkable this Western influence so much in evidence at Amarapura is practically seen nowhere else.

38. I have been asked to write a Guide to the Palace at Mandalay. Such a guide, based on Burmese official and other documents, supplemented by the information obtained from old Burmese residents who were familiar with it and accompanied by several plans and photographs, is certainly a great desideratum; for the Palace is one of the most interesting sights in this Province, but its real interest can be grasped only by visiting it with a detailed and reliable guide-book or a person familiar with it. The work is now well in hand. The following notes, as a kind of introduction to the subject, may prove of interest.

(a) The first thing which the resident in Burma or the tourist, when he comes to Mandalay for the first time, desires to see before everything else, is the Palace. He has already heard of it and most probably also read about it in more or less accurate but generally glowing descriptions. He is under the glamour which the very word "palace" and above all "oriental palace" calls forth to the mind, and it is in the anticipatory visions of majestic piles and grandiosely decorated halls that, through the broad, white and dusty roads of the city, he directs his steps towards the abode of the last kings of Burma. The result of the visit is at first, generally, somewhat of a disillusion. This is due to several causes; the visitor has before him only what remains of the palace; much of the painting, gilding, and ornaments which, when it was inhabited, must have made of it a glorious sight and a joy to the eye, have disappeared or faded; he has in fact before him the palace, but not as it was; for not a few of the parts which contributed to the harmony and grandeur of the whole are now no more to be seen. The sign-boards bearing, in English and Burmese, the name of each apartment, tell him but little or nothing, if he be not accompanied by a person familiar with the uses to which these rooms were put, and able, by his explanations, to repeople for him those empty, echoing halls, with the fleeting images of those personages, high and low, who, only a few decades ago, filled them with life and movement and who played a rôle in the gorgeous pageants or revolting dramas once witnessed by these stolid walls. But perhaps the principal and foremost reason for the momentary disillusion—momentary because of the keener appreciation of the real beauty of the buildings which is experienced on a second visit—is the failing, readily comprehensible on the part of the casual visitor, to estimate to its proper value the real and abiding importance, from an historical and architectural standpoint, of the *Shwe Nandaw*, or Golden Palace.

Architectural and Historical.

(b) For the intrinsic interest of the Palace at Mandalay lies in the fact that it is the last, and only one preserved to us, of a long series of similar structures built by succeeding dynasties at the numerous capitals of Burma and, in all its barbaric splendour, a solitary and silent witness of an order of things that has now for ever passed away; also in the fact that it is the only example of wooden civil architecture now left in Burma which, in its general plan and design, repeated from century to century with an almost blind adherence to the traditional plan of palaces which have now long disappeared, reproduces to a certain extent the wooden civil architecture of ancient India and of Asia. Its plan, in its great lines, is not merely old Indian, but rather pan-Asiatic, for its prototypes were found scattered over a vast stretch of country, from Patna to Peking and—perhaps—as far as Nineveh. For these ancient cities and palaces were built, with often greatly varying details, on a plan common to all.

The features which may be said to have been, on the whole, common to pan-Asiatic cities and palaces are the following: The city was surrounded by high fortified walls, generally forming a square and surmounted by bastions and towers, a deep moat running all along these walls, the number of gates giving access into the city through these walls, the number of gates giving every case; but there is a number of instances in which twelve gates are mentioned, as at Mandalay. The palace was erected in the centre, or very nearly the centre, in most cases, of the city, that is, of the square enclosed by the fortified walls; the palace was built on a basement or terrace raised pretty high from the ground, and enclosed by a retaining masonry wall; this basement was generally longer than it was broad, that is, it was rectangular in shape. The whole, were constructed in wood and of only one storey; they were beautifully adorned with sculptures and mosaics, and heavily gilt and painted. Another feature was that the palace, for greater security to its inmates, was surrounded at no great distance by two or three enclosing walls.

(c) The description given by Marco Polo of the Palace of the great Kublai Khan (1260—1294 A.D.), the first Emperor of the Mongol dynasty in China, and his capital of Khan Baliq (Peking), which he founded in 1264 near the

Marco Polo's description of Kublai Khan's City and Palace.

Khan (1260—1294 A.D.), the first Emperor of the Mongol dynasty in China, and his capital of Khan Baliq (Peking), which he founded in 1264 near the

site of the old city, corresponds almost exactly to that of Mandalay, and is most interesting in that it bears out what has been said above about the latter having been built according to traditional models—Khan Baliq not being an exception—follows:—

"It (the palace of Kublai) is enclosed all round by a great wall forming a square, each side of which is a mile in length; that is to say, the whole compass (thereof) four miles. This you may depend on; it is also very thick, and a good ten paces in height. White-washed and loop-holed all round. At each angle of the wall there is a fine and rich palace in which the Lord's harness of the Emperor is kept. . . . Also midway between every two of these Corner Palaces there is another of the like . . . This great wall has five gates on its southern face, the middle one being the great gate which is never opened on any occasion except when the great Khan himself goes forth or enters. . . . Inside this wall there is a second, enclosing a space that is somewhat greater in length than in breadth. This enclosure has also eight palaces corresponding to those of the outer wall, and stored like them with the Lord's harness of war. This wall hath also five gates on the southern face corresponding to those in the outer wall, and hath one gate on each of the other faces. In the middle of the second enclosure is the Lord's Great Palace, and I will tell you what it is like."

You must know that it is the greatest palace that ever was. The palace itself has no upper storey, but it is all on the ground floor, only the basement is raised some ten paces above the surrounding soil, and this elevation is retained by a wall of marble raised to the level of the pavement, two paces in width and projecting beyond the base of the palace as to form a kind of terrace-walk. . . . The roof is very lofty, and the walls are all covered with gold and silver. They are also adorned with representations of dragons, sculptured and gilt, beasts and birds, knights and idols and sundry other subjects. And on the ceiling too you see nothing but gold and silver painting. On each of the four sides there is a great marble staircase leading to the top of the marble wall (that is, on the basement), and forming the approach to the palace. . . . It is quite a marvel to see how many rooms there are . . . on the interior side of the palace are large buildings with halls and chambers, where the Emperor's private property is kept, such as his treasure of gold, gems, etc. . . . and in which reside the ladies and concubines. There, besides himself, no one has access. Between the two walls of the enclosure I have described, there are fine parks and beautiful trees."

The above is the description of the palace itself in the centre of its two enclosing walls. Of the fortified wall surrounding the whole city he says—
"The city is all walled round with walls of earth (forming a square) which have a thickness of full ten paces at bottom, and a height of more than ten paces; but they are not so thick at the top, for they diminish in thickness as they rise, so that at the top they are about three paces thick. And they are provided throughout with loop-holed battlements, which are all white-washed. There are twelve gates, and over each gate there is a great and handsome palace, so that there are on each side three gates and five palaces; for I ought to mention there is at each angle a great and handsome palace. . . . The streets are so straight and wide that you can see right along them from end to end. . . . Moreover in the middle of the city there is a great clock—that is to say a bell. All the plots of ground on which the houses of the city are built are four-square, and laid out with straight lines; all the plots being occupied by great and spacious palaces, with courts and gardens of proportionate size. All these plots were assigned to different heads of families. Each square plot is encompassed by handsome streets for traffic; and thus the whole city is arranged in squares like a chess-board and disposed in a manner so perfect and masterly that it is impossible to give a description that should do it justice."

If we take into consideration that what Marco Polo describes on the top of the gates and on the walls were merely towers, answering to the bastions or *pyatthats* (a construction with multiple receding roofs) on the wall of Mandalay city, it will be seen how very much alike are the two descriptions. The points

of resemblance in the general plan of both the cities are too numerous to be merely fortuitous. It will be remarked that, in both cases, the palace proper, which consists of a single storey, is built of wood on a masonry basement forming a rectangle; this is immediately surrounded by enclosure walls. The streets within the city are straight, cutting one another at right angles and leading from gate to gate; in both cities it is within the crenellated walls and the palace's enclosing outer wall that the streets are laid, and in the squares thus formed, the dwellings of the high officials are situated; both have a clock-tower (or bell-tower) to strike the time. The walls around the city form a square, each side of which has three gate-ways, the middle one of which being, in both cases, used by the King; the walls are battlemented, and watch-towers or bastions with multiple roofs are seen on the walls at the corners and over the gates, as well as between them; and a large moat has been dug all round the city.

(d) The numerous capitals of Burma, both Lower and Upper, were, it goes almost without saying, on the same general plan; the walls of many can still be traced, and leave no doubt on the subject. There is a description of the city of Pagan, written in Pali verse in the last quarter of the 12th century A.D., which might have been written for Mandalay itself. The same holds good of most fortified cities in the Far-East. General de Beylié, the regretted archaeologist, who was in Burma some years ago, in his book on his visit here, gives plans of fortified cities in Cambodia which are in general agreement with that of Mandalay city. The author of this interesting book, having described the plan of Cambodian fortified cities, adds in a note: "The part of this immense space, which was occupied neither by the temple nor its outbuildings, was not probably divided by streets, running parallel to the axis, into inhabited wards. It is now difficult to make sure of this, for the houses, built of timber, have disappeared without leaving a trace"; but it was on such a plan that the ancient capitals of Burma were arranged. Now, the disposition of these Burmese fortified cities had great analogies with those of Cambodia; for Burmese cities were in the form of a square with the palace in the centre and temples at the angles." Speaking of Banteai Prei Angkor, de Beylié says: "This ancient capital its form is almost square and measures nearly two kilometres 500 metres on each face. Each of these faces is pierced with three gates."

The custom of building palaces of timber on a masonry basement is very ancient and was found from one extremity of the Asiatic world to the other.

A note Yule appended to the passage in Marco Polo above quoted may be reproduced here: "This description of a palace, an elevated basement of masonry with a superstructure of timber (in general carved and gilded), is still found in Burma, Siam, and Java, as well as in China. If we had any trace of the palaces of the ancient Asokas and Vikramadityas of India, we should probably find that they were of the same character. It seems to be one of those things that belonged to some ancient pan-Asiatic fashion, as the palaces of Nineveh were of a somewhat similar construction."

Fergusson thinks that "even if the student is not prepared to admit the direct ethnographic connection between the (wooden) buildings of Burma and Babylon, he will at any rate best learn in this country (Burma) to appreciate and understand. Solomon's House of the forest is, with mere difference of detail, reproduced at Ava and Amarapura," to which Mandalay may of course be added. In this fact, therefore, as has already been said, that it is one of the last representatives of a long series of similar buildings now long disappeared from the face of Asia, resides the principal and real interest attaching to the Mandalay Palace.

It is because those old sites have been for centuries overgrown with vegetation and the streets little over sixty years ago in favour of Mandalay; it had streets like the latter city, but it is now impossible to trace any of them.

Temples at the angles are still seen at Pagan and Amarapura.

(e) The town of Mandalay

Bird's-eye view of the City and Palace.

Shan Hills on the east, to the Irrawaddy River on the west. It roughly occupies an area of five miles on each side. The streets, well shaded by innumerable trees, are all broad, and run regularly from east to west and north to south, cutting one another at right angles. I have said the straight-running roads in approximately those blocks formed by the straight-running roads in the centre of which stands the city the capital, the *Shwe Myadaw*, or Royal Golden City. All that was *extra-muros* was accounted merely as suburbs and outside the capital; this is made clear by *pyin*, which may be almost literally translated by the "East outside the walls," the "West outside the walls," etc. It is not therefore with the town, but with the city within the walls that we are concerned.

Let us, in imagination, go back to the time before the annexation (1885) and suppose—by rolling the wheel of progress, of that wonderful mechanical progress, back for a few years—that we are comfortably hovering over the Burmese capital in an aeroplane. We shall then see, in a comprehensive view, the city as it was. The town itself, outside the walls, has remained in its large lines very much the same, if we except, as a matter of course, the greater number of brick buildings, above all near the commercial centre, which the profound peace, the feeling of security, and the incentive to trade which followed naturally the annexation, have brought into being in a bountiful crop. But not so with the city *intra-muros*, which has undergone numerous changes. Excepting a few features, good King Mindon would scarcely recognize it now were it vouchsafed him to visit it again. This is the sight which would meet our eyes from our flying machine. All round, forming a perfect square, the moat, and the city walls with their twelve gates, their battlemented top and their forty-eight bastions surmounted with graceful wooden spires, and the five bridges spanning the moat; these features have practically remained unchanged. In the centre of the city, surrounding the palace right in the centre, was first a high stockade of teak posts forming an almost perfect square and with four gates; within this, at a distance of about sixty feet from it, and somewhat less in height was a brick wall running parallel to the stockade on its four sides; the space between the stockade and this wall formed an esplanade covered with grass. Running right across the eastern face of the palace, its two extremities abutting against the south and north faces of the square wall just mentioned, was a second brick wall. Nearer the palace again, at the back of it on the west, and along not quite the whole length of its southern and northern faces, was a third brick wall, thus forming three sides of an oblong. The space between these and the palace platform was known as the Inner-Court, which forms now the roads running round the palace north and south. Right in the centre of all these was the palace with its numerous apartments, its magnificent spire and its watch-tower. Within the first square wall running along the stockade and the palace platforms, were numerous buildings, most of them long ago demolished, such as: the arsenal, the Hlut-daw or supreme Court, Thibaw's monasteries, the Relic-Tower, the Bell-Tower, the Mint, the Tombs of Mindon and some queens, numerous guard-houses and barracks, stables for horses and elephants, etc., all the buildings necessary to the active life of an oriental capital. On the north and south of the palace were the beautiful Royal gardens, now still extant. A reference to the plan will make this clearer. The large space between the city walls and the stockade was, as it is still now, divided into large square blocks by the broad roads extending east and west, and north and south. These blocks contained the dwellings of high officers of State and others with, around each, the huts of their retainers and the petty stalls of small bazaar vendors. This bird's-eye view of the city, however rapid, will, with the help of the plan, give a good idea of the general disposition of the *Shwe Myadaw*, and make clearer the more precise explanations given lower down.

Foundation of the Palace and City.

(f) Mindón Min, the founder of Mandalay, was the 10th king and last but one, of the Alaungpra dynasty (1753—1885) during which Burma witnessed her greatest military glory as well as her rapid dismemberment under the predecessors

King Mindón, the Founder of Mandalay.

of Mindón and her final downfall under Thibaw, the last king of the dynasty. Much has been written about Mindón, who has been described as about the best king who ever ruled over Burma. Indeed, the hopes that had been founded on Mindón at the time of his accession were in no small degree realized. European writers have generally, and with justice, drawn a very flattering portrait of him; overflattering perhaps in some cases for, notwithstanding his real qualities as a man, ruler, and scholar, he had still some of the defects and of the arrogance of an eastern monarch; and it could not well be otherwise, considering that he wielded an autocratic power and that, in him, centred the influence of the traditions of centuries of despotism and barbaric rule. His chief merit was, I think, that, whether consciously or not—but certainly through his innate honesty, gentleness, and deep piety—he was probably the only Burmese king of modern times who, to some extent, broke through much of the trammels of those traditions and ruled with wisdom and often with good political insight; and whose reign, if compared with others, was singularly free from bloody hecatombs and atrocities. By all the Europeans who had direct dealings with him, he was always found to be reasonable in his views, amiable, and kind. To the end, he managed to be on a footing of good relations and friendliness with the British, his powerful neighbours in Lower Burma, and endeavoured, as much as was consistent with the established form of Government, to bring back a certain amount of prosperity in his dominions, and to maintain a peace long distracted by frequent wars.

King Mindón, so designated from his patrimonial grant to the north of Prome, was born in 1814, and it is during his boyhood that the principal events rapidly succeeded one another which culminated, in 1824, in the first Burmese war, which resulted in the Burmese Government waiving all claims to their dominion over the State of Assam, Kachar and Jintya, and their relinquishing into British hands the districts of Tenasserim, Tavoy, Mergui and Yè. This was the beginning of the dissolution of a large Empire, until it was finally consumed by the annexation of Upper Burma in 1885.

Mindón was half-brother to Pagan Min (1846—1853), his immediate predecessor, and the son of King Tharrawadi (1837—1846) of execrable memory. He had a brother, the Kanaung Min, who later became her apparent and was massacred in the rebellion at Mandalay; both were united by ties of a sincere affection, a thing rather rare in the annals of Burma, and for this reason worth mentioning here. It is this brother who, subsequently, did much to establish Mindón on the throne at Amarapura. At that time, popular feeling was not a little irritated against Pagan Min on account of the annexation of Pegu by the British (1852), and this new loss of a vast territory, added to the disgust caused by his profligate life and his cruelty, had rendered him very unpopular. This much esteemed at the capital for his amiable disposition, his affability and were living, could not but perceive this growing esteem and began to feel an unreasoning jealousy originating, doubtless, in a sub-conscious fear. In November 1852, a dacoity took place at the residence of Ma Thè, who was the sister of the nurse of Pagan Min; this was made the occasion—if indeed the dacoity had not been engineered purposely—of a plot on the part of a certain section of king. The two brothers soon became aware that they were unsafe at Amarapura; they left it after much anxious consultation, and took refuge at Shwebo where they entered by force (December 1852). There, a force of some thousand men, commanded by energetic chiefs, rapidly gathered about them.

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It was now open rebellion. The Royal forces vainly endeavoured to oppose the triumphant advance of the small army. Amarapura was taken, Pagan Min fallen king with great consideration and allowed him to live with all his family in a state commensurate with his new position. Pagan Min died in Mandalay of small-pox in 1881.

(g) It has been seen that the City of Khan Balaq (Peking) and the palace therein of the great Mongol Emperor Kublai Khan and those of Mandalay were built practically on the same plan; this plan has been called pan-Asiatic, of Asia. In the case of Khan Balaq and Mandalay, the resemblance is so very striking, that one cannot but come to the conclusion that, besides this pan-Asiatic conception of a Royal residence which was more or less common to a certain number of Asiatic nations, ethnic traditions and usages doubtless played a not little rôle. Certain of these Mongolic customs and usages can still be traced in Burma, and there can be little doubt that careful investigation on this subject would bring to light a few more. A few of these may be mentioned here.

Among both the Mongols and the Burmese, the left hand was considered to be the side of honour, and officials were designated as being of the right or the left, the latter appointment being more honourable and taking precedence. It was the recognized usage and right for a son, on ascending the throne, to take over his deceased father's wives, his own mother being not, of course, subjected to this rule; similarly younger brothers took unto themselves their elder brothers' wives. The east was the most honourable point of the compass, and the heir apparent to the throne was designated as the "Eastern Prince." They had superstitions in common concerning the position of the sun and moon, and regarding certain days. No serious operations were undertaken without first consulting the state of the stars and of the moon, the waning period being considered not so auspicious as the waxing. Fytche remarked—"there is one remarkable usage among the Burmese which is essentially Mongol. There is no distinction between civil and military services. Treasurers and Judges are expected to take the command of armies. The Burmese army comprises the whole population of adult males. . . . Sometimes they are collected from particular provinces, townships or districts, but on great occasions levies are made of the whole population. The officials then become generals."

An ancient custom of the nomadic Tartars was, for their princes frequently to remove their capitals from one place to another. To readers somewhat acquainted with Burmese history, it is well known that this also was often the case in Burma; hence, the score or so of capitals scattered all over the country. It must not, however, be thought that—as has sometimes been said—it was the regular custom for every new king to remove his capital. Such a removal, though perhaps on some occasions due to fancy, was generally induced by political expediency and other considerations. King Mindón, in removing his capital from Amarapura to Mandalay, not only acted on political and private reasons but also, to a certain extent, obeyed the dictates of a deeply-seated avatism.

It is in 1856 that he seems to have first thought of this removal. Such shiftings on a large scale must always have been a source of annoyance and of little hardships to the population settled in the suburbs: petty traders, gardeners, cultivators, etc.; but under the autocratic and despotic government of their kings, when the monarch's will alone was supreme in the land, they had no voice in the matter, and they had to follow their sovereign to the new site he had pitched upon. Mindón appears, however, to have desired to mitigate the natural anxiety of the citizens and their no less natural discontent, by asserting that one of the principal motives for this (to them) momentous step, was the very insalubrity of the then capital, Amarapura, about six miles to the south of Mandalay. The particular site chosen for the new city had been, he averred, pointed clearly out to him in three dreams given him by powerful nats. These

sight appears doubtful, is made less improbable by the fact that there was a lion at Ava in 1824. This information is found in a document now very scarce and unprintable, which, though printed in 1850 refers to events which occurred in 1824 and soon after.¹ The author, Henry Gouger, was imprisoned in 1824 together with Mr. and Mrs. Judson, Dr. Price and others. The passage in his memorial referring to the lion being very interesting, I do not apologize for reproducing it here:

"while speaking of the superstitious practices of the Burmese, I cannot refrain from giving an example of them, which though sufficiently ridiculous, was the cause of the most intense anxiety for many days to myself and my companions. The king was possessed of a very fine lioness, which it was said had been sent to him in an Arab ship as a present from the Imaum of Mescat. One night while lying disconsolate in prison at Oungpenlai, the silence was disturbed by the distant rumbling of a heavy vehicle from which, as it neared the prison, proceeded the terrific roarings of a wild animal which we soon discovered to be those of the lioness. During the night we had misgivings as to the object of sending this animal to prison, for it was lodged at the entrance of our place of confinement. In the morning we ascertained that it was confined in a very large cage, with strong bars on each of the four sides, this cage having been placed on wheels for the convenience of transport. Our jailors either could not or would not give us any information as to the object of the Court in sending this animal to keep company with us in prison, and by this mystery seemed to encourage the idea, which was natural enough, that we were shortly to become the prey of this ferocious animal. Our alarm was increased by observing day after day that the creature was kept without food, to render it, as we supposed, more ravenous and fitter for the purpose. After a week the poor famished animal began to manifest signs of diminished strength, still no indication appearing of the fearful intent which had so long harassed our minds, we began to entertain a hope that we had mistaken the object for which it had been sent to the prison. The starvation continued, and after about a fortnight it died. We now learned that by some accident, the Burmese had ascertained that the British arms exhibited the figure of a lion, on which the enchanters recommended the course I have related, trusting some good fortune would attend the imprisonment and starvation of the British standard." Thus the unfortunate beast perished the victim of Burmese superstition.

"The exact date of the pagoda at whose base are the figures of lions it has not been possible yet to ascertain owing to lack of data, but it may certainly be placed not long after the events recorded in the passage cited above. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to suppose that the artist might have seen the animal in real life at the Burmese Court and reproduced its form with unwieldy material to the best of his ability.

"A close inspection of the figures, however, soon brings out their resemblance with the famous lions on the Asoka pillar at Sarnath. It is well known that in the whole range of Indian art, the best sculptured and most naturalistic lions are those of Asoka's time. It goes without saying that the Amarapura lions, if at all copied from those at Sarnath, are much inferior in artistic execution. There was at the beginning of the 19th century an active intercourse between North-east India and Burma, and a number of pilgrims, both lay and ecclesiastic, used to visit the great places sacred to Buddhism, and especially Budh-Gaya and Benares (Sarnath). Did the artist at Amarapura then copy from Sarnath? No; for against this possibility goes the fact that this lion capital was unearthed only in 1905.² The resemblance then must be due to the fact that the lions both at Sarnath and Amarapura are more realistic than the others, and must

¹ Memorial of Henry Gouger to the Hon. East India Company, London, Harrison and Sons, loan. A copy in the possession of Major Enriquez, who was kind enough to let this office have it on those lions.

² P. 25-26. The *Vokeralinathadipani-kyam*, page 206, mentions the arrival of a lion in 1824 from Calcutta to the Court of Ava; but insists that the figures of lions painted or carved on objects imported into Burma from Europe are unlike those generally represented on approaches to pagodas and pedestals over their arches.

³ Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1904-05, page 68.

have been fashioned by men who no doubt had seen a living lion. So that we may reasonably take it that the lion sent from Mescat to the Burmese Court may have served as a model."

(41. Estampages were procured of fifteen new inscriptions during the year. They consist mostly of short dedication records on votive tablets in Talaing, Burmese and Pali, in Burmese and Nagari characters, the earliest of which

New inscriptions and coins discovered during the year.

may be placed on paleographic grounds in the XIth century A.D. Two new inscriptions in Burmese with the dates 671 and 684 in common Burmese era (A.D. 1309 and 1322 respectively) were found in the Kyaukse District, and Mr. J. A. Stewart, M.A., I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Kyaukse, very kindly supplied this office with their estampages. They record the dedication of lands and slaves to monasteries, but apart from this, they have no historical interest.

There is no record to make under "treasure-trove coins" found in Burma during the year. All the coins mentioned in Appendix G. II belong to the Phayre Museum, Rangoon and they were presented to it by the Director-General of Archaeology in India, the Director of Industries, Central Provinces, the Government of the United Provinces, and the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS.

42. Under section 1 of the same Part, I have recorded notes on the finds made at Sameikshe and Pagan. The following are some of the important finds made elsewhere and which were very kindly brought to my notice by some of the district officers.

(a) Major C. M. Enriquez, Divisional Recruiting Officer, Mandalay, very kindly made over to me to be photographed two small antiquarian objects from among his collection. Figures of a Chinese God and a Shan Saint.

The one represents the Chinese Hotel, the god of wealth, which he bought at Canton, and the other represents, according to him, Maha Kachai. The latter is rather interesting, as such figures are very rare in Burma itself, the only instances being a bronze figure found in a ruined pagoda in Pakökkü, and two others, both in stone, the one being found in the relic chamber of the Sittana Pagoda, Pagan, which was built by King Zeyatheinkha (1204-1227), and the other in the relic chamber of the Shwesandaw Pagoda (11th century A.D.). Pagan, Major Enriquez says, "The images of Maha Kachai are extremely common in the Southern Shan States, trans-Salween especially in the Kengtung State. I have not seen any examples cis-Salween especially in the Kengtung State. The figure has two attitudes. In one both hands are as far as I can remember. The figure has two attitudes. In one both hands are clasped over the belly. In the other, one hand rests on the right knee, and in this attitude it is always shown as a laughing jovial old fellow. Maha Kachai appears to be identical with the Chinese Hotel, the god of wealth. The attitude with both hands clasped over the belly is the commonest in Kengtung. Such figures occur there in thousands, particularly near the Chinese border. The monastery at Sawng Sari is packed with them.

"According to the Shan legend, Maha Kachai was a disciple of the Buddha. It is said that he was so beautiful that the women paid special attention to him when making their offerings, neglecting even the Buddha. Therefore, Maha Kachai, being anxious to escape these attentions and lead the life of a Yahan, made himself fat and ugly."

The above is no doubt a local version of the story of Kachayana, the author of the Pali Grammar, widely known by this name, and patron of learning. However, it is most remarkable that Kachayana should find no vestiges in Burma as in the Shan States and Laos. From the very few instances of such figures found in Burma, it may be considered that they were imported into Burma either from the Shan States or the Laos.

¹ Similar figures are also found in abundance in Laos, where they are called "Prash Kachai". B.R.F.E.O. Vol. 1, page 115.

The figure in the possession of Major Enriquez is in wood and is represented as seated cross-legged on a seat with his two hands placed over his stomach with the palm inwards. It has a corpulent body and a protuberant belly. There are traces of robes which leave the right shoulder and arm bare. His ear-lobes are long and flabby, but they do not touch the shoulders. Around the seat there is an inscription in the Kun dialect, which was very kindly read and translated for me, as follows, by Mr. G. P. Andrew, I.C.S., Superintendent and Political Officer of the Southern Shan States:—

Transliteration.

"Pyi-pūk hsiit-sura hsakarasā 1018 tat mengwan Sankha-hpu-Sū. Ai hseng pyen kao-kwa myeluk lai-hsang pukhta ropawng nai-wai so tippa hsa-hsana hapanwa-hsa le hkaw te-wa-ta sao-lang lai anumawtan lwe-kha-lé.

Translation.

"May all the gods congratulate and uphold the good deed done by me (Aⁱ Seng) as the promoter and my household in helping in erecting this image of Buddha that it may be preserved for five thousand years of Sasana.

Dated Monday in the year 1018 B.E."

It may be noted that although the figure is now known as the one representing Kaccāyana there is no reference made to it in the inscription, where it is called a "Buddha"; but it is remarkable that this very figure, like others found elsewhere in Burma, lacks the two attributes which in every case are peculiar to Buddha images, and to them only, *vis.*, the *urna*, a round protuberance on the forehead above the bridge of the nose and the *ushnisa*, the protuberance on the skull.

(b) Mr. B. W. Swithinbank, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Prome, very kindly brought to my notice the discovery of certain antiquarian objects inside a ruined pagoda within the precincts of the Shwesandaw Pagoda, Prome. The pagoda was brought down by a heavy shower of rain, and the relic chambers were exposed. As I happened to visit Hmawza during the year, I deputed one of my assistants to inspect the ruined pagoda and examine the relics. The relics do not appear to be of any importance. Among them there was found an inscribed silver plate, which records that in the year 1818, a certain scribe and his wife repaired the pagoda in question which had fallen into ruins. Among the relics there are none which appear to be anterior to the above date.

(c) The Government of India have sanctioned the grant of special rewards for finds of objects of intrinsic historical or archaeological interest, such as coins, stone inscriptions, gold and copper plates inscribed, stone objects, images, etc. The procedure for any finder of such objects to follow, so far as this Province is concerned, is simply to make over their finds to the nearest Civil Officer with a report as to the circumstances under which the find came to be made, its locality, and any available information as to the tradition of the object found or the site where the discovery is made. In the case of heavy objects, a report of the find, its nature, situation, etc., may be made similarly to the nearest Civil Officer who will in either case take the necessary action.

The offer of special rewards will, it is believed, not only encourage finders to declare any treasure trove that may fall in their possession but will have an educational value in creating a greater interest in the minds of the public.

These special rewards are in addition to the sum already payable under section 16 of Act VI of 1878 relating to treasure trove if it be desired to acquire any treasure, *vis.*, the value of the material plus one-fifth of such value.

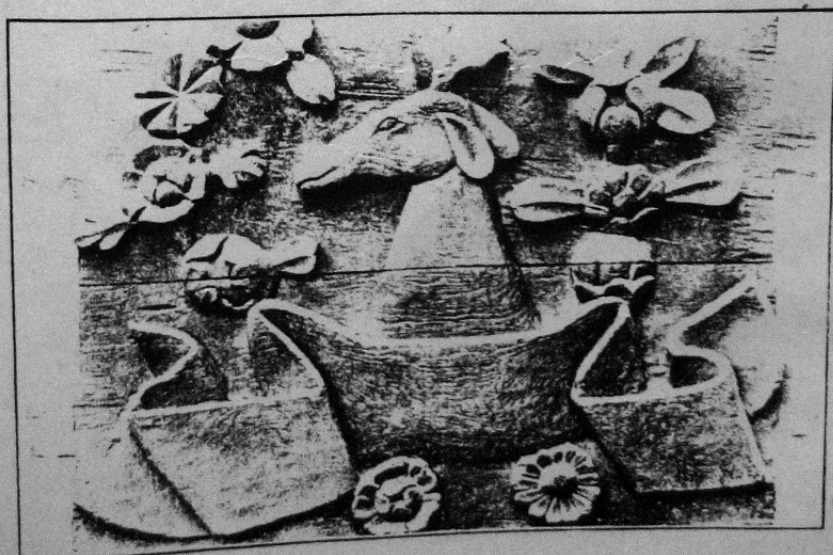
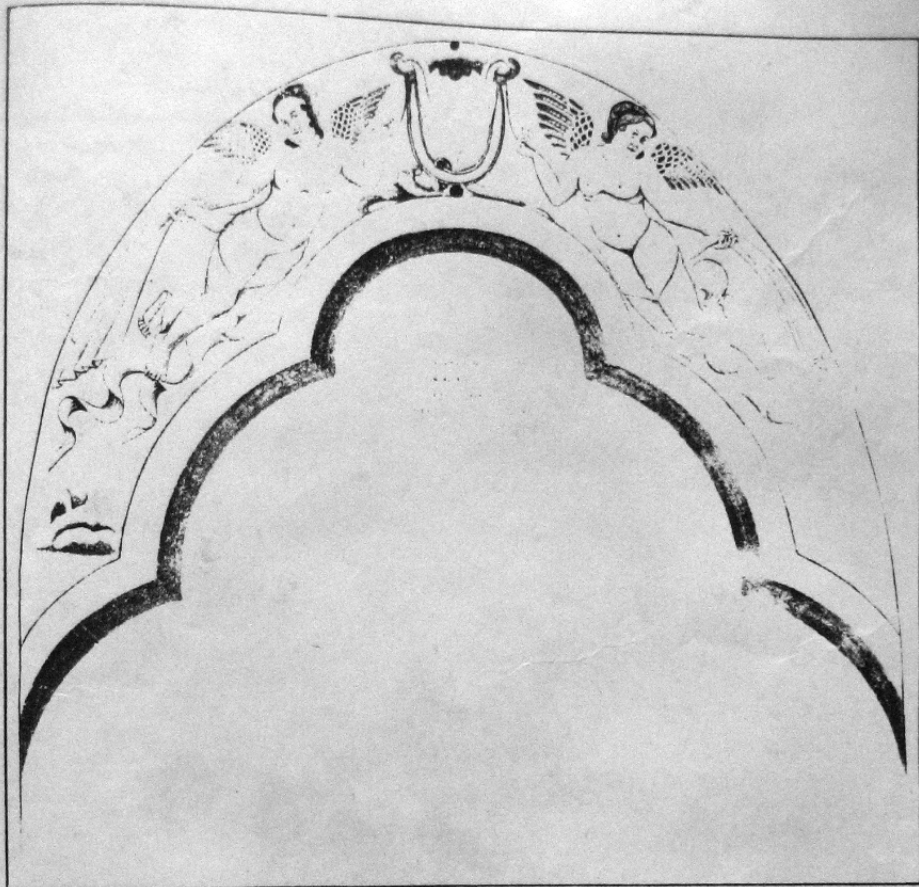
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(d) In the course of digging post holes for a temporary shed in the compound of the new Roman Catholic Church at Amarapura, two chatties full of pieces of silver were found a few inches below the ground. The contents of one chatty were misappropriated by the coolies employed on the work, but those of the other weighing over eight viss were sent up, under the Treasure Trove Act, to the District Officer, Mandalay, who forwarded to me a few pieces for examination and report. They were pieces of silver known as *daing-kwet* used as currency during the Burmese times. Such pieces are quite common, and as they do not possess any historical interest, it is recommended that they may be returned to the finders or the owner.

MANDALAY, 29th May 1922.

CHAS. DUROISSELLE,
Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma.







APPENDIX A.

Register of Objects of Archaeological interest, the preservation of which has been approved by the Local Government:—Nil.

APPENDIX B.

Application for administrative approval to the preservation by Government of an object of Archaeological, Historical or Architectural interest.

Title and nature. (1)	Locality. (2)	Description and proposals. (3)	Remarks. (4)
1. Payathonzu Temple 2. Thambula Temple 3. Nandamanya Temple	Minnanthu	... These temples contain frescoes very interesting both from the religious and historical points of view. They belong to about the 12th—13th century A.D. They are in a fair state of preservation.	
4. Andaw Pagoda ...	Mrohaung	... Built by King Minbin (1531—1553) to enshrine a tooth relic of the Buddha said to have been obtained from Ceylon. It was built of stone, and consists of a central block, which is octagonal in plan, surrounded by two vaulted corridor passages, the plan of each of which is also octagonal, and surmounted by a small chaitya.	
5. Dukkanthein Temple.	Do.	... It is a plain structure of unique type in plan, which is spiral in form. It is built of massive stone walls. The vaulted passage inside goes round a central pier rising gradually until it reaches to a vaulted chamber on the top. Its outer walls are pierced with holes and are crenellated on the top, and the building was used as a fortress in times of danger. The walls of this passage are ornamented with many sculptures.	
6. Ratanabon Pagoda	Do.	... Built by King Min Palaung who reigned over Arakan from 1571—1593 A.D. It is conical in shape, and constitutes one of the principal types of buildings in Arakan.	

APPENDIX C.

Statement showing Expenditure sanctioned and incurred on Archaeological works during 1921-22.

No.	Work.	Sanctioned estimate of work.	Expenditure incurred during year.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	MANDALAY DIVISION.	Rs.	Rs.	
	Annual and petty repairs to Palace Buildings, Mandalay.	2,000	3,107	
1	Wages of durwans looking after Palace Buildings, Mandalay.	3,000	2,688	
2	Special repairs to pyothats on South and East Fort Walls, Mandalay.	26,227	9,079	
3	Constructing Garden on Palace Platform, Mandalay.	12,530	10,998	
4	Annual and petty repairs to pyothats on Fort Walls, Mandalay.	2,400	1,550	
5	Special repairs to King Mindon's Tomb at Mandalay.	6,132	191	Work completed.
6	Special repairs to Palace at Mandalay.	3,949	427	
7	Special repairs to Queens' Tombs on the north and south sides of King Mindon's Tomb at Mandalay.	4,496	42	Work completed.
	Total	63,734	28,082	
	SHWEDO DIVISION.			
8	Annual repairs to Sinbyumé Pagoda at Mungun.	200	200	
9	Annual repairs to Tupayon Pagoda and Inscription shed at Sagoint.	200	199	
10	Annual repairs to Bell and Model (Pöndaw) Pagoda at Mungun.	200	199	
11	Annual repairs to Ökkyauing at Ava.	200	200	
12	Annual repairs to Alaungpaya's Tomb at Shwedo.	20	19	
13	Annual repairs to shed over the inscription stone in the Court-house compound, Shwedo.	6	6	
	Total	826	823	
	PAGODA DIVISION.			
14	Wages of durwans to look after pagodas at Pagan.	1,620	1,818	
15	Maintenance of pagodas at Pagan.	2,300	2,488	
16	Special repairs to Tiloninlo Pagoda at Pagan.	11,955	12,191	
17	Additions and alterations to Sulamani Pagoda at Pagan.	3,815	3,845	
	Total	19,890	20,342	
	BASSIN DIVISION.			
18	Fixing Memorial Tablet on the old East India Company's Factory on Haingyi Island, Bassin District.	654	171	Work completed.
	Total	654	171	
	RANGOON DIVISION.			
19	Wages of caretaker for the old Portuguese Church, Syniam.	144	153	
	Total	144	153	
	MEIKTILA DIVISION.			
20	Jungle clearing round the pagodas in the Kyaukse District.	180	180	
	Total	180	180	
	PEGO DIVISION.			
21	Annual repairs to Pilli stone shed at Pegu.	40	26	
22	Annual repairs to the old buoy in the inscription shed at Pegu.	40	10	
	Total	80	36	
	THARRAWADDI DIVISION.			
23	Annual repairs to the Archaeological Buildings at Hmawza, Prome District.	300	295	
	Total	300	295	
	ARAKAN DIVISION.			
24	Government contribution towards repairs to the Shitshung Temple at Mrohaung in the Akyab District.	5,000	(a) 6,311	
	Total	5,000	(a) 6,311	
25	P.W.D. charges	11,723	...	
	GRAND TOTAL	109,491	56,363	

(a) Rs. 1,604 was expended in 1920-21 as deposit contribution and since transferred to this Major Head in 1921-22.

APPENDIX D.

Cost of the Archaeological Survey, Burma, under the main heads of the Budget for 1921-22.

Main heads of budget.	Provision in budget for 1921-22.	Actual expenditure in 1921-22.	Balance remaining on 31st March 1922.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SUPER-INTENDENT, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY.				
SALARIES.				
Officers.				
Superintendent, Archaeological Survey	Rs. 8,100	Rs. 11,000 0 0	Rs. 3,500 0 0	Excess due to the revision of the scale.
ESTABLISHMENT.				
Archaeological Assistant	...	...	...	
Architectural Surveyor	...	...	...	
Clerks (four)	...	...	...	
Draftsman	...	10,240	10,745 10 0	-5 10 0
Assistant Photographer	...	...	...	Excess due to increments to the pay of the Assistant Photographer and Burmese Copyist.
Burmese Artist	...	...	...	
Burmese Copyist	...	...	...	
Servants (three)	...	...	...	
Temporary allowances and Burma Allowance of officer.	1,300	1,574 4 0	-274 4 0	
Travelling Allowance	4,000	* 3,090 11 0	9 5 0	* Includes also the travelling allowances of Honorary Archaeological Officer for Akyab.
Supplies and Services.				
Preservation of Archaeological Remains	500	100 0 0	400 0 0	
Purchase of photographs and photographic materials.	650	† 597 6 6	52 9 6	† Deducting Rs. 166-9-0 recovered from the sale of photographs.
Mandalay and Pagan Museums and Archaeological scholarships.	1,250	1,050 0 0	200 0 0	
Purchase and translation of ancient manuscripts.	2,700	1,880 4 0	819 12 0	‡ Rs. 1,700 paid by the Local Government out of Provincial Revenues.
Contingencies.				
Contract contingencies	2,500	2,483 6 0	16 10 0	
Rents, rates and taxes	950	960 0 0	...	
Total	32,200	34,151 9 6	-1,951 9 6	

APPENDIX E.

(a) List of Drawings made by the Archaeological Survey, Burma, during the year 1921-22.

Annual No.	Serial No.	Description of Drawings.	Scale.	Locality.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	30*	Fresco-painting—Māra attacking the Buddha—on the wall of the west porch of the Arakan Pagoda.	Original size	Mandalay.	✓
2	451	Fresco-painting representing western angels on the spandils of the east porch of the Taungthaman Kyauktawg, Pagoda.	1"=3"	Amarapura.	
3	452	Plan of the Myinpyagū Temple	8"=1" ✓	Pagan.	
4	453	Section of the Myinpyagū Temple	8"=1" ✓		
5	454	An image of Buddha in the north porch of the Myinpyagū Temple.	2"=1" ✓		
6	455	Plan of the Ok-kyauw or brick monastery in the Lemyethnā Pagoda at Minnanthu.	8"=1" ✓		
7	456	East elevation of the Ok-kyauw or brick monastery in the Lemyethnā Pagoda at Minnanthu.	8"=1" ✓		

* Numbering continued from previous report.

APPENDIX E—continued.

(b) List of Photographs taken by the Archaeological Survey, Burma, during the year 1921-22.

Annual No.	Serial No.	Description of Photographs.	Size of Photographs.	Locality.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	3204*	Fresco-painting on the spandils of the east porch of the Taungthaman Kyauktawg, Pagoda.	8½" × 6½"	Amarapura.	From a drawing prepared by this office.
2	3205	Figure of a lion at the south-west corner of the Shwegū Pagoda.	Do.		
3	3206	A fragment of a terra-cotta plaque containing a (seated) image of Buddha.	Do.	Twante.	
10	3208		Do.		
5	3209		Do.		
6	3209	Fresco paintings on the walls within the Kyansitha Ohnmin.	Do.	Pagan.	From drawings prepared by this office.
10	3211	A recumbent image of Buddha found near the Paungū Pagoda.	Do.		
8	3212		Do.		
9	3213	Figure of Arahāt Aṅgulimāla placed on the platform of the Shwegū Pagoda.	6½" × 4½"		
10	3213	Figures of Vasundharī placed on the platform of the Shwegū Pagoda.	Do.		
11	3214		Do.		
12	3215	A wooden image of Buddha from Kengtung	Do.		The originals belong to Major C. M. Enriquez, I. A.
10	3219		Do.		
10	3219		Do.		
17	3220	A wooden image of Chinese Buddha from Canton	Do.		
8	3221		Do.		
18	3221				
19	3222	An old wooden carving belonging to Mr. R. C. J. Swinhee, Mandalay. The head of a deer carved in relief.	Do.	Mandalay	The originals belong to Mr. R. C. J. Swinhee, Mandalay.
20	3223	Figure of an angel carved in relief in wood belonging to Mr. R. C. J. Swinhee, Mandalay.	8½" × 6½"		
31	3224	Fresco-paintings on the walls of the Nandamañña Temple.	12" × 10"		
10	3227		Do.		
31	3227	Fresco-paintings on the walls of the Nandamañña Temple.	8½" × 6½"		
30	3233		Do.		
31	3234	Fresco-paintings on the Easternmost Pagoda of Payathonzu.	10" × 10"		
32	3235		Do.		
33	3236	Fresco-paintings on the Easternmost Pagoda of Payathonzu.	8½" × 6½"		
36	3239		Do.		
37	3240	Fresco-painting on the Middle Pagoda of Payathonzu	10" × 10"		
38	3241	Fresco-paintings on the Middle Pagoda of Payathonzu	8½" × 6½"	Minnanthu.	
39	3242		Do.		
40	3243	Writings in ink on the walls of the Thambūla Pagoda	12" × 10"		
41	3244		Do.		
42	3245	Writings in ink on the walls of the Thambūla Pagoda	8½" × 6½"		
43	3246	Kassapa Pagodas, south-east view	12" × 10"		
44	3247	Kassapa Pagodas, east view	8½" × 6½"		
45	3248	South Kassapa Pagoda, east view	Do.		
46	3249	North Kassapa Pagoda, east view	Do.		
47	3250	Lemyethnā Ok-kyauw or brick monastery, front view	Do.		
48	3251	Stone figure of lion at the south-west corner of the Anandā Pagoda, front view.	Do.	Pagan.	
49	3252	Stone figure of lion at the south-east corner of the Anandā Pagoda, side view.	Do.		
50	3253	A terra-cotta plaque at the south-west corner of the basement of the Anandā Pagoda, containing figures of lions.	6½" × 4½"		

* Numbering continued from previous report.

APPENDIX E—concluded.

(b) List of Photographs taken by the Archaeological Survey, Burma, during the year 1921-22—concluded.

Serial No.	Description of Photographs.	Size of Photographs.	Locality.	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
51 2254	Figure of lion carved in relief on the pedestal of the standing Buddha on the south face of the Ananda Pagoda.	6½" x 4½"	Pagan.	
52 2255	Figure of lion carved in relief on the pedestal of the standing Buddha on the east face of the Ananda Pagoda.	Do.		
53 2256	Myinpyagū Temple, east face	8½" x 6½"		
54 2257	Myinpyagū Temple, west face	Do.		
55 2258	Myinpyagū Temple, view of the south-east corner ...	Do.		
56 2259	A seated image of Buddha on the north wall within the Myinpyagū Temple.	Do.		
57 2260	A pagoda with octagonal basement, west of the Myinpyagū Temple, west face.	Do.		
58 2261	A pagoda with octagonal basement, west of the Myinpyagū Temple, east face.	Do.		
59 2262	Nwāpyagū Temple, west face	Do.		
60 2263	Nwāpyagū Temple, east face	Do.		
61 2264	Gōbyauk-ngē Temple, west face	Do.	Myinkaba,	
62 2265	Gōbyauk-ngē Temple, east face	Do.		
63 2266	Plaster carvings on the east entrance of the Gōbyauk-ngē Temple.	Do.		
64 2267	Plaster carvings on the north entrance of the Gōbyauk-ngē Temple.	Do.		
65 2268	Plaster carvings on the south side of the west entrance of the Gōbyauk-ngē Temple.	Do.	Aungbintha village, near Sameikshe, Thazi Township.	
66 2269	Patadawgyi Pagoda, view of the south-east corner ...	Do.		
67 2270	A Sims near the Patadawgyi Pagoda, view of the south-east corner.	Do.		
68 2271	Excavation site at Sameikshe	Do.		
69 2272	Excavation site at Sameikshe	Do.	Sameikshe.	
70 2273	Votive tablet with inscription found at Sameikshe ...	Do.		
71 2274	A bronze image of Buddha originally found within the relic chamber of a ruined pagoda near the Patadawgyi Pagoda.	6½" x 4½"		
72 2275	A ruined pagoda on the east of the Mingalazedi Pagoda.	8½" x 6½"		
73 2276	A ruined temple close to the south of above (No. 74).	Do.	Pagan.	
74 2277	A seated image of Buddha within the ruined temple mentioned above (No. 75).	Do.		
75 2278	A seated image of Buddha within the ruined temple mentioned above (No. 75).	Do.		
76 2279	View of the ruined pagoda and temple mentioned above on the east of the Mingalazedi Pagoda (Nos. 74 and 75).	Do.		

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX F.

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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS ISSUED DURING THE YEAR 1921-22, AND IN THE PRESS ABOUT TO BE ISSUED.

I.—Report.

Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1921.

(a) Already issued— II.—Epigraphia Birmanica, etc.

1. Volume II, Part I, "The Talaing Plaques on the Ananda," Text and indexes, by Chas. Duroiselle. (Rs. 3.)
2. Volume II, Part II, containing 359 photographs in 87 plates to illustrate Part I, with explanations, by Chas. Duroiselle. (Rs. 3.)
3. "List of Inscriptions found in Burma," Part I, containing the inscriptions found in Burma, arranged according to their dates, and giving (a) the place of origin, (b) founder's name, and (c) a brief indication of their contents, by Chas. Duroiselle. (Rs. 6.)
4. "Amended List of Ancient Monuments in Burma" (Rs. 5.)

(b) Already in the Press and soon to be issued—

1. "Epigraphia Birmanica," Volume III, Part I, containing the "Mon Inscriptions—Nos. IX—XI," by C. O. Blagden.
2. "List of Coins in the Phayre Provincial Museum, Rangoon."
3. "List of European Burial Grounds in Burma with Inscriptions on Tombs anterior to the 1st of January 1858."

III.—Contributions to the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, India.

PART I, 1920-21.

A brief résumé of Conservation, Exploration, Epigraphical and other work in the Burma Circle.

APPENDIX G.

List of Inscriptions, Copper Plates, Coins, Seals, etc., discovered or acquired during the year, with an account of the manner in which they were dealt with or disposed of.

Serial No.	Locality.	Inscribed object.	Dimensions.	Language and script.	Date.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
			I.—INSCRIPTIONS.			
1	Yan Village monastery, Myitha Township, Kyaukse District.	Stone ...	Seventeen lines	Burmese	671-678 B.E.	Records the dedication of land and slaves to the monastery by Myatkyipikon tantoza.
2	Taungkok Village, Myitha Township, Kyaukse District.	Do. ...	There are writings on two faces: (1) fourteen lines on the obverse and (2) twenty-eight lines on the reverse.	Do.	684 B.E.	Records the dedication of land and slaves to Thera Mahā Kassapa's monastery by the Officer Acala-bhiri-dānapade and his wife.
3	East of the Mingaladon Pagoda, Pagan.	Votive tablet	Two lines	Talaing		
4	Do.	Do. ...	Two lines	Do.		
5	Do.	Do. ...	Three lines	Do.		
6	Do.	Do. ...	Three lines	Do.		
7	Do.	Do. ...	One line	Pāli		
8	Myin-pyay-gu Pagoda, Pagan.	Do. ...	Four lines	Talaing		
9	Do.	Do. ...	Three lines	Pāli	About 11th century A.D.	Records that the tablet was prepared by King Anawrata himself. No date is given, but from the style of the writing and its contents, it may be assigned to the 11th century A.D.
10	Do.	Do. ...	Two lines	Do.	Do.	Do.
11	Do.	Do. ...	Two lines	Pāli, Nāgari characters.	Do.	Contains the well-known Buddhist formula, "ye dhamma, etc."
12	Samelake, Thasi Township, Meiktila District.	Do. ...	Three lines	Burmese.		
13	Do.	Do. ...	Two lines	Sanskrit.		
14	Do.	Do. ...	...	Talaing.		
15	Do.	Do. ...	...	Do.		

APPENDIX G.

APPENDIX G—concluded.
List of Inscriptions, Copper Plates, Coins, Seals, etc., discovered or acquired during the year, with an account of the manner in which they were dealt with or disposed of—concluded.

Serial No.	Metal.	King.	Mint.	Date.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
				II.—COINS.*			
				Coins of Soter Megas.			
1	Copper	Soter Megas	...	100	Bust of King right, behind head the characteristic Monogram.	Horseman right, Greek legend	Presented by the Director-General of Archaeology in India. In fair condition.
				Coins of Mahakshatrapa Svami Rudrasena II (S. 170-178=318-370 A.D.).			
2	Do.	Mahakshatrapa Svami Rudrasena II, son of Mahakshatrapa Svami Rudradaman II.	...	...	...	...	Presented by the Director-General of Archaeology in India. In poor condition.
				Coins of Balabhi Kings.			
3	Do.	...	...	5th-6th century A. D.	Bust	Inscription not readable, trident with axe on shaft.	Do.
4	Do.	...	...	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
				Medieval Indo-Sassanian Coins.			
5	Silver	...	...	550-750 A.D.	Rude bust	Narrow fire altar with attendants.	Presented by the Director-General of Archaeology in India. In fair condition.
				Gadhahiya (Rajasthan) and Gujrat Currency Coins.			
6	Do.	...	...	750-1100 A.D.	Rude bust	Narrow fire altar with attendants.	Presented by the Director-General of Archaeology in India. In fair condition.
7	Do.	...	...	...	...	...	Presented by the Sardar Museum and Samalpur Public Library, Jodhpur.
				Coins of the Second Lohara Dynasty.			
8	Copper	Sussala	...	1112-28 A.D.	Goddess and King Sri Sa (Sasaledeva).	Goddess and King Sri Sa (Sasaledeva).	Presented by the Director-General of Archaeology in India. In poor condition.
				Coins of the Mughal Emperors of India.			
9	Silver	Mahomed Shah	Kora	15 r.y. 1145H.	...	...	Found at Grahā Kota in the Khet Talah of Saugor, and presented by the Director of Industries, Central Provinces. Found in the village of Nathia Patti of Yarkhi parwana and Akhaur talah in the Fyzabad District, and presented by the Government of the United Provinces.
				Coins of Girvanayuddha Vikrama.			
10	Do.	Shah Alam II	...	Muhammabad, Benares.	13 r.y.	...	Presented by the Director-General of Archaeology in India. In fair condition.
				Coins of Girvanayuddha Vikrama.			
11	Do.	Girvanayuddha Vikrama.	...	1738 A.D. 1816 A.D.	Legend Sri Sri Sri Girvanayuddha Sahadeva, date below.	As on coin of Rana Bahadur.	Presented by the Director-General of Archaeology in India. In fair condition.

* These coins were presented to the Coin Cabinet of the Phayre Provincial Museum, Rangoon.

APPENDIX H.

A list of dates in the Burmese common era found in the "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava," with their equivalents in English.¹

This list has been included in the report, as it will be very useful to persons interested in Burmese history.

The ending moment of every tithi, and when necessary the moment of its commencement, indicated as a decimal of the day of 24 hours and (2) as so many hours and minutes after mean Lanka sunrise 6 a.m.

Serial No.	Page of book ²	Date as in book.	English equivalent.
1	1	Monday, the 11th of the month of Tabauing, 611 Sakkaraj.	Monday, 14th February (Phālguna sukla 11) A.D. 1250; tithi ended at '59 (16 hrs. 30 min.).
2	3	Monday, 2th waxing of Tagu, 643 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 16th March A.D. 1282; Chaitra, sukla 7th tithi ended next day at '70 (18 hrs. 15 min.).
3	4	Thursday, 3rd waxing of Tazaungmon, 546 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 8th November A.D. 1184, Mārgasira (not Kārttika) sukla 3 tithi ended at '37 (8 hrs. 50 min.).
4	6	Thursday, 6th waxing of Tabauing, 595 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 23rd February A.D. 1234, Phālguna sukla 5th tithi ended at '59 (11 hrs. 20 min.). N.B.—Expired year.
5	6	Thursday, 7th waxing of Pyatho, 559 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1197 sukla 7 Pausa ended on Wednesday, 17th December 1197, not on Thursday.
6	7	Thursday, 7th waxing of Tazaungmon, 718 Sakkaraj.	There seems to be a mistake in the year. It is rendered in one place as A.D. 1346 and in another as 1356 (Sakkaraj 718).
7	8	Tuesday, 5th waxing of Nweda of the Tharawon (Saravanna) year, 717 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1365 Āshādhā bahula 5 began on Monday, 7th July at '92 (22 hrs. 0 min.), was current all Tuesday and ended on Wednesday at '00 (0 hrs. 0 min.).
8	9	Wednesday, 5th waxing of Kason of the Cissa year, 737 Sakkaraj.	On Wednesday, 23rd April A.D. 1376 Vaisāka sukla 5th tithi began at '75 (18 hrs. 0 min.). N.B.—Expired year.
9	10	Wednesday, 4th waxing of Wazo, 757 Sakkaraj.	On Tuesday, 22nd June A.D. 1395, Āshādhā sukla 4th tithi ended at '23 (5 hrs. 30 min.), not on Wednesday.
10	21	Friday, 3rd waxing of Nayon, 510 Sakkaraj.	On Friday, 21st May A.D. 1148, Jyeshtha sukla 3 tithi ended next day at '55 (13 hrs. 15 min.).
11	22	Thursday, 13th waxing of Tazaungmon, 545 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 18th October 1184, Kārttika sukla 13th tithi ended at '33 (8 hrs. 0 min.).
12	22	Tuesday, 5th waxing of Wazo, 757 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 7th July A.D. 1365 Āshādhā bahula 5th tithi was current all Tuesday and ended on Wednesday at '00 (0 hrs. 0 min.).
13	26	Thursday, 3rd waxing of Tagu, 534 Sakkaraj.	In Chaitra at the end of Indian Solar Year A.D. 1170, Chaitra sukla 3 ended on Thursday, 11th March A.D. 1171 at '71 (17 hrs. 0 min.).
14	8	Monday, 11th waxing of Pyatho, 585 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1224-25, Pausa bahula 11 ended on Monday, 6th January A.D. 1225 at '90 (21 hrs. 35 min.). N.B.—Expired year.
15	29	Monday, 14th waxing of Tazaungmon, 592 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 21st October A.D. 1230 Kārttika sukla 14th tithi began on Monday, 21st October at '59 (14 hrs. 10 min.) and ended at '57 (13 hrs. 45 min.) on Tuesday.
16	29	Thursday, 10th waxing of Pyatho, 511 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 27th December A.D. 1229 Pausa sukla 14th tithi ended at '31 (7 hrs. 30 min.).
17	30	Saturday, 8th waxing of Tagu, 594 Sakkaraj.	In Indian Solar Year A.D. 1238-39, Chaitra sukla 8, at end of the year, began on Saturday, 19th March 1238 at '91 (21 hrs. 50 min.) and ended on Sunday at '91 (21 hrs. 50 min.).

¹ Vide paragraph 33, page 16.

² "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava" Translation with notes by U Tun Nyein.

APPENDIX H—continued.

A list of dates in the Burmese common era found in the "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava," with their equivalents in English—continued.

Serial No.	Page of book ²	Date as in book.	English equivalent.
18	31	Monday, 5th waxing of Tazaungmon, 758 Sakkaraj.	On Saturday, 7th October A.D. 1397, Kārttika sukla 5th tithi ended at '58 (23 hrs. 30 min.). It could well be Sunday, but not Monday.
19	31	Tuesday, 6th waxing of Tabauing, 770 Sakkaraj. N.B.—Mr. Taw Sein Ko notes that the date is evidently incorrect and should be 778 Sakkaraj. The weekday however tallies with Sakkaraj 770 (A.D. 1408-09), not with Sakkaraj 778.	On Wednesday, 20th February A.D. 1409 Phālguna sukla 5th tithi ended at '45 (16 hrs. 45 min.); tithi began on Tuesday at '40 (9 + 35 min.). In A.D. 1414-15, Phālguna sukla 5 ended on Monday 22nd February 1417 at '01 (1 hr. 0 min.) and no part of it was current on Tuesday.
20	35	Tuesday, 6th waxing of Tabauing, 777 Sakkaraj.	On Tuesday, 4th February A.D. 1416 Phālguna sukla 7 (Indian solar year A.D. 1415-16) ended at '05, i.e., within 4 ghāṭikas after sunrise; hence the auspicious moment was chosen in forenoon.
21	36	Saturday, 6th waxing of Pyatho, 778 Sakkaraj.	On Saturday, 18th December A.D. 1417 Pausa sukla 6th tithi ended at '02 (6 hrs. 0 min.). N.B.—Expired year.
22	36	Sunday, 14th waxing of Nadaw, 778 Sakkaraj.	On Sunday, 16th February A.D. 1417, Magna bahula 14th tithi ended at '73 (17 hrs. 30 min.). In Mārgasira bahula 13 fell on Thursday.
23	36	Wednesday, 6th waxing of Nadaw, 778 Sakkaraj.	A.D. 1416-17: Wednesday, 10th February 1417 Magna bahula 10; tithi ended at '24 (10 hrs. 30 min.).
24	36	Monday, 1st waxing of Nadaw, 778 Sakkaraj.	If Wednesday was 6th waxing as we were told supra, 1st waxing would be Tuesday; but the commencement of tithi is referred to for bahula 1.
25	36	Tuesday, 1st waxing of Pyatho, 778 Sakkaraj.	Maghaiba 1 in A.D. 1416-17 fell on Tuesday, 2nd February A.D. 1417; tithi began on previous day (Monday) at '21 (10 hrs. 40 min.) and ended at '72 (17 hrs. 20 min.). This seems to be again transposed by 2 mos. for sukla 1, Phālguna began on Tuesday, 16th February 1417 at '40 (21 hrs. 0 min.) and ended on Wednesday at '90 (23 hrs. 0 min.). A mistake in the year is probable.
26	37	Tuesday, the full moon of Pyatho, 778 Sakkaraj.	Tuesday was the commencement of full moon tithi of Phālguna in A.D. 1416-17; the tithi ended on Wednesday 3rd March A.D. 1417 at '23 (5 hrs. 30 min.).
27	37	Thursday, the 10th waxing of Nayon, 778 Sakkaraj. Either Thursday, after '06 (2 hrs. 0 min.), i.e., an hour before sunrise on Friday, 31st May A.D. 1426; or Thursday, 2th June A.D. 1427 is the date intended. In the latter case the expired year 788 must be meant.	In A.D. 1427-28 Jyeshtha bahula 20 ended on Thursday, 16th June 1427 A.D. at '72 (17 hrs. 0 min.). The moment of ascending the throne must have been carefully calculated. In A.D. 1426-27 Jyeshtha bahula 10 began on Thursday 14th May at '06 (1 hrs. 0 min.), i.e., shortly before sunrise on Friday.
28	38	Sunday, the 15th waxing of Tagu of the 6th year of the new era founded by Mohynin Minda and Mibaya Saw.	On Saturday, 24th March, A.D. 1423, Chaitra sukla 12 ended on Saturday and not on Sunday, 25th March.
29	38	Sunday, the 12th waxing of Kason.	On Sunday, 27rd April A.D. 1423 Vaisāka sukla 12 ended at '20 (4 hrs. 30 min.).
30	38	Wednesday, 13th waxing of Tazaungmon, 804 Sakkaraj.	Wednesday, 31st October, A.D. 1412, Kārttika bahula 13 ended at '77 (18 hrs. 30 min.).
31	47	Saturday, the end waxing of Nayon, 804 Sakkaraj.	On Saturday, 26th May A.D. 1424, Jyeshtha bahula 2, began on Friday, 25th May at '23 (2 hrs. 20 min.) was current all Saturday and ended on Sunday 27th May at '01 (0 hrs. 15 min.).

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A list of dates in the Burmese common era found in the "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava," with their equivalents in English—continued.

Serial No.	Page of book.*	Date as in book.	English equivalent.
32	49	Saturday, the 6th waning of Tazungmon, 577 Sakkaraj.	On Saturday, 28th November A.D. 1213, Kārttika sukla 6 ended at '38 (9 hrs. 10 min.)
33	50	Friday, the 14th waning of Tawthalin, 583 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 16th September A.D. 1221 Bhadrāpāda bahula 14 ended at '55 (13 hrs. 15 min.); not Friday.
34	50	Thursday, 5th waxing of Tazungmon, 592 Sakkaraj. (X)	On Wednesday, 1st November A.D. 1234-35, Kārttika sukla 9, was ended at '44 (10 hrs. 30 min.); not Thursday.
35	50	Monday, the 19th waxing of Tazungmon, 598 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1236-37, Phālguna sukla 7 began on Monday, 2d February A.D. 1237, and ended on Tuesday at '28 (6 hrs. 20 min.).
36	50	Thursday, the 7th waxing of Kason, 602 Sakkaraj.	Thursday, 18th April A.D. 1241, Vaiśākha sukla 7 tithi ended next day at '85 (20 hrs. 25 min.). N.B.—Expired year.
37	50	Thursday, the 3rd waning of Nadaw, 615 Sakkaraj. (X)	On Tuesday, 6th December A.D. 1253, Mārgasīra bahula 3; not Thursday.
38	51	Tuesday, the 11th waning of Nadaw, 626 Sakkaraj. (X)	On Sunday, 25th November A.D. 1274, Mārgasīra bahula 11 ended at '84 (20 hrs. 10 min.); not Tuesday.
39	51	Friday, 4th waning of Wazo, 607 Sakkaraj.	On Friday, 14th July A.D. 1245, Nijā-Āśāṣṭha bahula 4 ended at '68 (16 hrs. 20 min.).
40	51	Thursday, the 5th waxing of Thadingyut, 633 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 10th September A.D. 1271 Āsina sukla 5th tithi began at '17 (4 hrs. 5 min.) and ended on Friday at '16 (3 hrs. 50 min.).
41	52	Wednesday, the 5th waning of Nadaw, 599 Sakkaraj.	On Tuesday, 8th December A.D. 1237, Mārgasīra bahula 5 ended at '51 (12 hrs. 15 min.); not Wednesday.
42	53	Thursday, the 7th waxing of Tabodwe, 605 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1241-45, Māgha sukla 7 began on Thursday 31st January A.D. 1245 at '64 (15 hrs. 30 min.) and ended next day at '6 (13 hrs. 30 min.).
43	54	Wednesday, the 11th waxing of Nayon, 617 Sakkaraj. (X)	Tuesday, 18th May A.D. 1255, was Jyeshtha sukla 11, not Wednesday.
44	54	Monday, the 5th waning of Nayon, 621 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 31st May A.D. 1260, Jyeshtha bahula 5 ended at '93 (0 hrs. 45 min.). N.B.—Expired year.
45	55	Thursday, the 8th waxing of Nayon, 601 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 26th May 1300, Jyeshtha sukla 8 tithi ended at '88 (21 hrs. 10 min.). N.B.—Expired year.
46	56	Thursday, the 1st waxing of Tagu, 579 Sakkaraj.	In 1206-07, on Thursday, 1st March A.D. 1207, Chaitra sukla 1 (at end of the year) ended at '45 (20 hrs. 45 min.).
47	58	Friday, 5th waning of Thadingyut, 569 Sakkaraj.	In 1207-08, Thursday, 11th October Āsina bahula 5 began at '91 (21 hrs. 50 min.), was current throughout Friday and ended on Saturday at '00 (0 hrs. 0 min.).
48	58	Thursday, the 14th waning of Nadaw, 604 Sakkaraj.	In 1240-43, on Monday, 21st December 1242, Mārgasīra bahula 14, not Thursday. But Kārttika in A.D. 1243-44 bahula 14 (which would be Mārgasīra bahula 14 in the Purnimanta scheme) fell on Thursday 12th November A.D. 1243 ending at '73 (17 hrs. 30 min.) and the sukla 3 next following (not sukla 3 of the following month as translated on p. 60) began on Sunday 15th November at '46 (11 hrs. 0 min.) ending next day '36 (8 hrs. 40 min.). This suggests that months were sometimes at any rate reckoned according to the Purnimanta scheme and that expired years as well as current years were in use in Burma.
49	60	Thursday, the 14th waning of Nadaw, 604 Sakkaraj.	Same date as the last and same error. Pausha sukla 3 A.D. 1242 was Friday 26th December, not Sunday. (But see explanation against serial No. 48; expired year and Purnimanta would make it all right.)

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A list of dates in the Burmese common era found in the "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava," with their equivalents in English—continued.

Serial No.	Page of book.*	Date as in book.	English equivalent.
50	61	Thursday, the 14th waning of Nadaw, 604 Sakkaraj.	Same date as in No. 48.
51	61	Sunday, the 3rd waxing of Pyaitho.	See remarks on No. 48.
52	62	Thursday, the 14th waning of Nadaw, 604 Sakkaraj.	Same as No. 48.
53	62	Sunday, the 3rd waxing of Pyaitho.	See remarks on No. 48.
54	63	Thursday, the 6th waning of Tazungmon, 614 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 22nd October A.D. 1297 Kārttika bahula 6 ended at '64 (15 hrs. 30 min.). N.B.—Expired year.
55	64	Saturday, the 10th waning of Nayon, 865 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 19th June A.D. 1534, Jyeshtha bahula 10 ended at '30 (7 hrs. 10 min.) not on Saturday. But in A.D. 1504, Jyeshtha bahula 10 ended on Friday 7th June at '99 (21 hrs. 45 min.), i.e., practically on Sunday. N.B.—Expired year.
56	64	Friday, the 10th waxing of Nadaw, 870 Sakkaraj.	On Friday, 1st December A.D. 1208, Mārgasīra sukla 10 began at '17 (4 hrs. 5 min.) and ended on Saturday at '18 (1 hrs. 30 min.).
57	64	Saturday, 5th waxing of Tabung, 501 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1159-60, Saturday, 24th February A.D. 1160 Phālguna sukla 5 ended at '68 (16 hrs. 30 min.).
58	65	Sunday, the 5th waxing of Kason, 502 Sakkaraj.	On Sunday, 13th April 1121 (not 1140) Vaiśākha sukla 5 ended at '08 (4 hrs. 0 min.).
59	65	Sunday, 7th waxing of Tabodwe, 506 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1144-45 Māgha sukla 7 fell on Tuesday, 2nd January. In A.D. 1145-46 it began on Sunday 10th January at '12 (3 hrs. 50 min.) and ended on Monday '16 (3 hrs. 50 min.).
60	66	Monday, the 1st waning of Pyaitho, 527 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1165-66 Pausha bahula 1 fell on Monday, 20th December and ended at '21 (9 hrs. 50 min.).
61	67	Thursday, the 3rd waxing of Tazungmon, 545 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1185-86 Kārttika sukla 3 began Thursday, 20th October at '48 (14 hrs. 30 min.) and ended on Friday at '48 (14 hrs. 30 min.).
62	68	Thursday, the 7th waning of Thadingyut, 567 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1205-06 Āsina bahula 7 fell on Thursday 6th October A.D. 1205 and ended at '85 (21 hrs. 20 min.).
63	69	Sunday, the 7th waxing of Tabodwe, 612 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1235-36 Māgha sukla 7 fell on Monday, 26th January 1236 beginning at '06 (1 hr. 30 min.) and ending at '08 (0 hrs. 0 min.) next day.
64	69	Thursday, the 11th waxing of Kason, 578 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1216-17 Vaiśākha sukla 13 (fell on Friday) but in 1217-18 A.D. it began on Thursday, 20th April at '28 (6 hrs. 45 min.) and ended next day at '26 (6 hrs. 15 min.). N.B.—Expired year.
65	70	Monday, 3rd waxing of Thadingyut, 581 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1219-20 Āsina sukla 3 fell on Sunday, 13th October and ended at '49 (11 hrs. 45 min.) not on Monday. In A.D. 1210-11 Āsina sukla 3 began on Monday 1st August at '70 (16 hrs. 45 min.) and ended next day at '77 (18 hrs. 30 min.). N.B.—Expired year.
66	71	Wednesday, the full moon of Kason 603 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1242 Vaiśākha full moon tithi fell on Wednesday, 16th April and ended at '19 (19 hrs. 0 min.) In A.D. 1241 it fell on Saturday. N.B.—Expired year.
67	79	Sunday, the 4th waning of Kason 503 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1141 Vaiśākha bahula 4 fell on Sunday, 24th April and ended at '20 (4 hrs. 45 min.).
68	79	Thursday, the 11th waning of Nadaw, 503 Sakkaraj. (X)	In A.D. 1121 Mārgasīra bahula 11 fell on Wednesday, 26th November and ended at '01 (1 hr. 15 min.); (next year it ended on Monday, 14th December), not on Thursday.

* * * Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava " Translation with notes by U Tun Nyein.

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A list of dates in the Burmese common era found in the "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava," with their equivalents in English—continued.

Serial No.	Page of book.*	Date as in book.	English equivalent.
69	80	Tues. y, the 9th waning of Tawthalin, 538 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1196-97 Bhādrapada bahula 9 began on Tuesday, 17th September at '49 (10 hrs. 0 min.) and ended next day at '35 (8 hrs. 25 min.).
70	80	Sunday, the 9th waning of Wayaung, 570 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1309-10 Śravana bahula 9 began on Sunday, 26th July at '09 (2 hrs. 10 min.) and ended next day at '07 (1 hr. 45 min.). In A.D. 1208 it fell on Wednesday. N.B.—Expired year.
71	81	Wednesday, the 3rd waxing of Tawthalin, 574 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1218 Bhādrapada sukla 3 fell on Wednesday, 1st August and ended at '55 (43 hrs. 15 min.).
72	81	Friday, 11th waxing of Nayon 575 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1211 Jyeshtha sukla 11 fell on Friday, 31st May and ended at '90 (21 hrs. 35 min.).
73	82	Friday, 1st waxing of Thadingyut, 580 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1236-37 Āsina sukla 1 fell on Friday, 1st September ending at '40 (9 hrs. 35 min.). (In A.D. 1227 it fell on Monday.) N.B.—Expired year.
74	83	Sunday, the 4th waning of Tabung, 591 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1229-30 Phālguna bahula 4 began on Sunday, 3rd March at '83 (20 hrs. 0 min.) and ended on Monday at '87 (26 hrs. 50 min.).
75	83	Monday, the 7th waxing of Tawthalin, 593 Sakkaraj. (x)	In 1231-32 Bhādrapada bahula 7 fell on Thursday ending at '71 (17 hrs. 30 min.); next year it fell on Wednesday; in neither case on Monday.
76	84	Thursday, the 5th waxing of Thadingyut, 593 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1231-32 Āsina Sukla 5 fell on Thursday, and October ending at '20 (6 hrs. 15 min.) This was Nija Āsina; sukla five of Adhika Āsina fell on Tuesday. This shows that Adhika and Nija month were reckoned as in India and that a fixed month Waso was not Adhika at that time.
77	84	Wednesday, the 3rd waxing of Kason, 597 Sakkaraj.	In 1236-37 Vaisākha sukla 3 began on Wednesday, 9th April at '38 (9 hrs. 10 min.) and ended next day at '34 (8 hrs. 10 min.). (In A.D. 1235 it fell on Sunday.) N.B.—Expired year.
78	85	Wednesday, the 7th waxing of Thadingyut, 604 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1232 Āsina sukla 7 fell on Wednesday, 22nd September ending at '57 (13 hrs. 45 min.).
79	86	Friday, the 11th waxing of Pyatho, 598 Sakkaraj. (x)	On Wednesday, 10th December A.D. 1236, Pausa sukla 11 ended at '21 (9 hrs. 50 min.). In A.D. 1227 it fell on Tuesday. In neither case on Friday. The week day must be wrong, as shown in remarks on No. 81 below.
80	86	Tuesday, the 11th waning of Tawthalin, 602 Sakkaraj.	Tuesday, 15th September A.D. 1237 Bhādrapada bahula 11 began at '65 (15 hrs. 35 min.) and ended next day at '64 (11 hrs. 20 min.).
81	86	*Monday, the 3rd waning of Pyatho, 598 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 4th January A.D. 1238, Pausa bahula 3 began at '5 (3 hrs. 35 min.) ending next day at '15 (3 hrs. 35 min.). (In 1236-37 it fell on Wednesday.) We had above 11th waxing Pyatho in the same year (No. 79) between that and 3rd waning (18th tithi) the interval must be 6, 7 or 8 days and not the interval between Friday and Monday which is either 3 or 4 days. The week day, in No. 79 is therefore palpably wrong. N.B.—Expired year.
82	86	*Monday, the 7th waning of Tabung, 591 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 8th March A.D. 1230 Phālguna bahula 7 began at '81 (9 hrs. 30 min.) ending next day at '79 (21 hrs. 20 min.). (In A.D. 1236-37 it fell on Thursday.)
83	86	*Friday, the 10th waxing of Tagu, 591 Sakkaraj. (x)	On Friday, 26th March A.D. 1238 (at the end of the year 1237-38) Chaitra sukla 10 ended at '95 (22 hrs. 45 min.). (In 1236-37 it fell on Sunday.)

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A list of dates in the Burmese common era found in the "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava," with their equivalents in English—continued.

Serial No.	Page of book.*	Date as in book.	English equivalent.
84	86	*Friday, the 9th waning of Nadaw, 600 Sakkaraj.	This must be Friday, 31st December A.D. 1238 when Margasira bahula 9 ended at '30 (18 hrs. 0 min.). In A.D. 1236 and A.D. 1237 Margasira bahula 11 fell on Wednesday and Monday respectively. No year is mentioned against this date; the presumption is that the Tagu in No. 83 was that following the Tabung in No. 82 and that the Nadaw in No. 84 was that following. The fact in No. 83. Calculation shows that these presumptions are correct. We have now reached Nadaw of 599.
85	86	*Monday, the 4th waning of Kason, 590 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 3rd May A.D. 1238 Vaisākha bahula 4 began at '22 (2 hrs. 30 min.). Lanka time according to Epiphanius; but the time in Burma at that time was at least one hour later; and it ended on Wednesday at '00 (0 hrs. 0 min.). In A.D. 1237 the tithi fell in Thursday. N.B.—Expired year.
86	87	Thursday, the 3rd waning of Pyatho, 600 Sakkaraj.	*All the five dates (just preceding) have to be verified in the year following those indicated by the Epigraphist. But even so there is a palpable error of fact in No. 81, 4th waning Kason, 593 Sakkaraj, for if we continue the chain of events noted in the remarks on No. 83 it will be evident that the next Kason is that of 600 but the week day is right for current 600 not for expired 600. The person who composed the record seems to have fitted the week-day to expired 599 the date assumed by him instead of to expired 600 the correct date.
87	88	Thursday, the 14th waning of Nadaw, 604 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 15th December A.D. 1239, Pausa bahula 3 ended at '16 (3 hrs. 50 min.); in A.D. 1236 it fell on Sunday. Here again we have to increase the equivalent English year by one. N.B.—Expired year.
88	89	Thursday, the 1st waxing of Nadaw, 600 Sakkaraj.	Same as No. 49.
89	89	Monday, 13th waxing of Tawthalin, 610 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 31st October A.D. 1247 Margasira sukla 1 ended at '20 (4 hrs. 45 min.).
90	90	Friday, the 13th waxing of Nayon.	On Monday, 31st August A.D. 1248 Bhādrapada sukla 18 began at '40 (11 hrs. 45 min.); ended at '27 (13 hrs. 45 min.) next day.
91	91	Thursday, the full moon of Tawthalin, 620 Sakkaraj.	On Friday, 5th June A.D. 1248 Nija Jyeshtha sukla 13 ended at '21 (11 hrs. 50 min.).
92	92	Friday, the 4th waning of Tabodwe, 622 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 15th August A.D. 1258 Bhādrapada full moon tithi ended at '61 (21 hrs. 40 min.).
93	93	Thursday, the 8th waxing of Kason, 630 Sakkaraj.	On Friday, 31st January A.D. 1267 Margasira bahula 4 began at '21 (3 hrs. 30 min.); it ended at '19 (4 hrs. 30 min.) next day.
94	93	Sunday, 3rd waning of Tazaungmon, 625 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 4th April A.D. 1275, Vaisākha sukla 8 began at '48 (11 hrs. 30 min.); it ended at '38 (9 hrs. 10 min.) next day. Expired year.
95	95	Sunday, 6th waxing of Tabung, 630 Sakkaraj. (x)	On Sunday, 21st October A.D. 1265 Kārttika bahula 3 ended at '24 (5 hrs. 45 min.).
96	95	Thursday, the full moon of Kason, 630 Sakkaraj.	Phālguna sukla 6 in Sakkaraj 630 (equal to A.D. 1264) ended on Saturday 9th February 1269 at '04 (1 hr. 0 min.) and was not connected in any way with Sunday. The date of the inscription while correcting the date conjecturally from 603 to 630, notes that the record has been carelessly executed.
			On Thursday, 11th April A.D. 1275 Vaisākha full moon tithi ended at '80 (20 hrs. 40 min.). A.D. 1274 it fell on Sunday. N.B.—Expired year.

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A list of dates in the Burmese common era found in the "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava," with their equivalents in English—continued.

Serial No.	Page of book.	Date as in book.	English equivalent.
97	95	Monday, 6th waning of Tawhali, 663 Sakkaraj. (X)	Week day does not tally either in A.D. 1301 or in A.D. 1308.
98	98	Thursday, the 5th waxing of Wazo, 560 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 11th June A.D. 1198 Āshādha sukla 5 ended at 6 ¹⁵ (14 hrs. 50 min.).
99	98	Friday, the 7th waxing of Kason, 568 Sakkaraj.	On Friday, 10th April A.D. 1880 Vaiśākha sukla 1 began at 27 (6 hrs. 30 min.); it ended next day at 21 (5 hrs. 0 min.).
100	100	Wednesday, 1st waning of Tabauing, 598 Sakkaraj.	On Wednesday, 10th March A.D. 1830, Phālguna bahula 3 began at 23 (5 hrs. 30 min.); it ended next day at 15 (3 hrs. 35 min.). In A.D. 1230-31 the week-day was Friday. N.B.—Expired year.
101	102	Thursday, the 6th waxing of Tabauing, 584 Sakkaraj. (X)	Phālguna sukla 6 in A.D. 1800-32 fell on Wednesday, 22nd February A.D. 1283 ending at 57 (13 hrs. 45 min.) and was in no way connected with Thursday; the date is not to be found in A.D. 1232-34 either. Error.
102	103	Friday, the 7th waning of Nadaw, 585 Sakkaraj.	On Friday, 15th December A.D. 1223 Margasira bahula 7 began at 27 (6 hrs. 30 min.); it ended at 18 (4 hrs. 30 min.) next day.
103	104	Wednesday, 11th waning of Nayon, 586 Sakkaraj. (X)	Error: In A.D. 1242 Jyeshtha bahula 11 fell on Friday, 12th June and ended at 31 (7 hrs. 30 min.). In A.D. 1225 Jyeshtha bahula 11 fell on Tuesday, 3rd June and ended at 34 (8 hrs. 10 min.). In neither year was the given tithi connected with Wednesday.
104	105	Monday, the 10th waning of Nayon, 588 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 18th May A.D. 1286 Jyeshtha bahula 6 ended at 20 (at hrs. 35 min.).
105	106	Thursday, 7th waxing of Tawhali, 585 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 10th August A.D. 1227 Bhādrapada sukla 7 began at 28 (5 hrs. 30 min.); it ended next day at 17 (4 hrs. 30 min.). The citation of a tithi in connection with a week day on which it began very late would be a rare and therefore a suspicious circumstance in an Indian inscription. In Burmese inscriptions of 13th and 14th centuries, however, such citations seem to be quite common. If a dedication of slaves or any other religious ceremony had to be performed in the early morning before the sun rose, the performer might justifiably quote the tithi with the week-day of the moment and not with the week-day of the sun-rise an hour later. The peculiarity seems to lie in quoting the week day of the moment and not in quoting the tithi of the moment.
106	107	Sunday, 8th waxing of Pyatho, 591 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1200-31 Pausha sukla 8 ended on Saturday, 14th December at 90 (21 hrs. 35 min.). But in local time, Burma, the ending moment may have brought up to be sunrise on Sunday. N.B.—Expired year.
107	108	Monday, 14th waxing of Wazo, 595 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 12th June A.D. 1234, Āshādha sukla 14 ended at 18 (4 hrs. 30 min.). In A.D. 1233 N.B.—Expired year.
108		Friday, 11th waning of Thadin, 594, 595 Sakkaraj.	On Friday, 30th September 1233, Āśvina bahula 11 began at 28 (11 hrs. 30 min.); it ended at 45 (10 hrs. 45 min.) next day.
109	109	Wednesday, 8th waxing of Tabodwe, 600 Sakkaraj.	On Wednesday, 4th January A.D. 1240, Māgha sukla 8 ended at 37 (8 hrs. 50 min.). In A.D. 1238-39 the week day was Friday. N.B.—Expired year.
110	110	Thursday, the 14th waning of Nadaw, 604 Sakkaraj.	See No. 49.
111	111	13th waxing of Pyatho, 604 Sakkaraj.	No week-day.

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A list of dates in the Burmese common era found in the "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava," with their equivalents in English—continued.

Serial No.	Page of book.	Date as in book.	English equivalent.
112	111	5th waning of Nadaw, 606 Sakkaraj.	No week-day.
113	112	Friday, the 3rd waning of Kason, 608 Sakkaraj.	On Friday, 21st May A.D. 1246, Vaiśākha bahula 3 began at 61 (14 hrs. 40 min.); it ended next day at 53 (15 hrs. 10 min.).
114	112	Wednesday, the 4th waning of Pyatho, 608 Sakkaraj. (X)	A.D. 1246 Friday.
115	112	Friday, the end waxing of Tazaungmon, 608 Sakkaraj.	A.D. 1247 Tuesday.
116	112	Thursday, the 3rd waxing of Nadaw, 608 Sakkaraj. (X)	On Friday, 11th October A.D. 1246, Kārttika sukla 1 began at 45 (10 hrs. 45 min.); it ended next day at 24 (13 hrs. 0 min.).
117	113	Wednesday, the 11th waxing of Pyatho, 610 Sakkaraj. (X)	On Tuesday, 13th November A.D. 1246, Margasira sukla 3 ended at 25 (8 hrs. 45 min.). The week day was Monday in A.D. 1247. It is significant: in only a rare case does the inscription the week days are correctly cited.
118	114	Tuesday, the 10th waxing of Tazaungmon, 610 Sakkaraj. (X)	A.D. 1248 Monday.
119	114	The editor of the inscriptions has noted in a footnote to that judging from the context the date should be 510 Sakkaraj. The week day however tallies with Sakkaraj 610, not with 510.	A.D. 1249 Friday.
119	116	Monday, the 5th waning of Tabauing, 617 Sakkaraj. (X)	A.D. 1248 Sunday.
120	116	Wednesday, the 11th waxing of Tabauing, 631 Sakkaraj. (X)	A.D. 1249 Thursday.
121	116	Wednesday, the 10th waxing of Kason, 640 Sakkaraj.	A.D. 1248 on Tuesday, 27th October Kārttika sukla 10 began at 93 (20 hrs. 0 min.) and ended next day at 89 (17 hrs. 30 min.).
122	116	Monday, the 1st waxing of Kason, 661 Sakkaraj. (X)	The statement in the inscription that the occurrence took place at dawn is consistent with the citation of a tithi beginning so late as 93 (20 hrs. 0 min.). See remarks on No. 105.
123	116	Monday, the full moon of Wazo, 617 Sakkaraj.	A.D. 1255 Thursday.
124	117	Monday, the 1st waxing of Wazo, 613 Sakkaraj.	A.D. 1256-57 Wednesday.
125	117	The full moon day of Wazo, 615 Sakkaraj.	A.D. 1260-70 Tuesday.
126	117	Monday, the 1st waning of Tagu, 633 Sakkaraj.	A.D. 1270-71 Sunday.
127	118	Friday, the 11th waxing of Tazaungmon, 626 Sakkaraj.	On Wednesday, 26th April A.D. 1224, Vaiśākha sukla 10 ended at 30 (12 hrs. 0 min.).
128	118	Thursday, the 7th waxing of Wazo, 653 Sakkaraj.	A.D. 1299 Thursday.
129	118	Thursday, the full moon of Tagu, 653 Sakkaraj.	A.D. 1300 Wednesday.
130	119	Thursday, the 11th waxing of Nayon, 653 Sakkaraj.	Vaiśākha sukla 1 fell on Monday (10th April) A.D. 1301, i.e., in the month of Viśākha after the close of Sakkaraj 661 expired.
			On Monday, 21st June A.D. 1355, Āshādha full moon tithi ended at 18 (4 hrs. 30 min.).
			A.D. 1371 Sunday.
			But on Monday, 3rd April 1271 the bahula 1 of Chaitra at the end of A.D. 1272-73 began at 20 (at hrs. 35 min.) and ended next day at 28 (10 hrs. 30 min.). N.B.—Expired year.
			No week-day.
			See remarks on No. 124.
			A.D. 1266 Sunday.
			A.D. 1267 Thursday.
			On Thursday, 15th June A.D. 1290 Āshādha sukla 7 ended at 81 (20 hrs. 10 min.).
			On Thursday, 12th March A.D. 1301, Chaitra full moon tithi began at 18 (11 hrs. 30 min.); it ended next day at 54 (12 hrs. 30 min.).
			Chaitra at the beginning of Sakkaraj 653 current.
			On Thursday, 10th May A.D. 1291, Jyeshtha sukla 11 ended at 56 (13 hrs. 30 min.).

"Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava" Translation with notes by U Tun Nyein.

APPENDIX H—continued.

A list of dates in the Burmese common era found in the "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava," with their equivalents in English—continued.

Serial No.	Page of book.	Date as in book.	English equivalent.
131	119	Wednesday, the 10th waxing of Nayon, 617 Sakkaraj.	This is the day previous to the last date (No. 130), it is irregular and correct for Wednesday, 9th May A.D. 1231.
132	120	Wednesday, the full moon of Pyintha, 617 Sakkaraj.	On Wednesday, 23rd December A.D. 1225, Pausla full moon (luni) ended at 21 (5 hrs. 30 min.).
133	120	Wednesday, the full moon of Tabodwe, 631 Sakkaraj. (X)	Wednesday, 5th February A.D. 1270 was the beginning of the 11th, not of the 15th of full moon (luni) of Māgha. In A.D. 1270-71 Māgha full moon (luni) ended on Tuesday 27th January A.D. 1271 at 73 (17 hrs. 30 min.), not on Wednesday.
134	120	Thursday, the 1th waxing of Tabodwe, 616 Sakkaraj.	Thursday, 14th January A.D. 1255 Māgha sukla 5 ended at 70 (19 hrs. 10 min.).
135	121	Tuesday, the 4th waxing of Tabodwe, 623 Sakkaraj.	On Tuesday, 24th January A.D. 1262, Māgha sukla 3 began at 61 (45 hrs. 35 min.); it ended on Wednesday at 58 (14 hrs. 0 min.).
136	121	Monday, the 10th waxing of Tagu, 617 Sakkaraj. (X)	A.D. 1242 Thursday, A.D. 1243 Wednesday, A.D. 1244 Sunday.
137	121	Thursday, the 10th waxing of Kason, 598 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 17th April A.D. 1234, Vaishakha sukla 10 ended at 52 (14 hrs. 50 min.).
138	121	Sunday, the 5th waxing of Wazo, 598 Sakkaraj.	On Sunday, 28th June A.D. 1237, Āshādhā sukla 5 began at 34 (3 hrs. 30 min.); it ended on Monday at 19 (4 hrs. 30 min.). N.B.—Expired year. In A.D. 1236 the week-day was Tuesday.
139	121	Thursday, the 7th waxing of Wagaung, 628 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 21st July A.D. 1267, Sravana sukla 7 began at 45 (10 hrs. 45 min.); it ended at 38 (9 hrs. 10 min.). N.B.—Expired year.
140	121	Monday, the 3rd waxing of Wazo, 597 Sakkaraj.	In A.D. 1225 Āshādhā sukla 3 began on Monday, 9th June at 77 (12 hrs. 30 min.) and ended next day at 81 (19 hrs. 30 min.). In A.D. 1226 (expired year) sukla 3 of Nijā Āshādhā ended at 43 (12 hrs. 45 min.) on Monday, 29th June. Either day may be that referred to in the inscription. See remarks on No. 151 below.
141	121	Thursday, the 7th waxing of Wagaung, 628 Sakkaraj.	See No. 139.
142	124	Monday, 12th waxing of Tazauingmon, 631 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 27th October A.D. 1270, Kārttika sukla 1 ended at 48 (11 hrs. 30 min.). N.B.—Expired year.
143	124	Thursday, the 7th waxing of Wazo, 628 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 15th June A.D. 1290, Āshādhā sukla 7 ended at 34 (20 hrs. 10 min.).
144	125	Thursday, the full moon of Tagu, 613 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, the 15th March A.D. 1291 Chaitra full moon (luni) began at 48 (11 hrs. 30 min.); it ended at 72 next day (12 hrs. 30 min.).
145	125	Thursday, the 11th waxing of Nayon, 633 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 10th May A.D. 1291, Jyeshtha sukla 11 ended at 56 (13 hrs. 30 min.).
146	126	Saturday, the full moon of Tazauingmon, 633 Sakkaraj.	On Saturday, 24th November A.D. 1272, Kārttika full moon (luni) began at 95 (22 hrs. 45 min.); it ended at 87 (20 hrs. 50 min.) next day. N.B.—Expired year. Apparently also a case of an offering made very early in the morning before sunrise. See remarks on No. 165.
147	127	Thursday, the 8th waxing of Tabauing, 634 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 21st March A.D. 1274, Phālguna bahula 8 began at 70 (8 hrs. 15 min.); it ended at 85 (10 hrs. 25 min.) next day. N.B.—Expired year.
148	127	Friday, the 10th waxing of Tagu, 633 Sakkaraj.	May be Friday, 11th March A.D. 1272, although Chaitra sukla ended at 86 (20 hrs. 40 min.) on Thursday. Local panchangas may have brought the luni up to sunrise on Friday.

"Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava" Translation with notes by U Tun Nyein.

APPENDIX H—continued.

A list of dates in the Burmese common era found in the "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava," with their equivalents in English—continued.

Serial No.	Page of book.	Date as in book.	English equivalent.
149	128	Monday, the full moon of Tadingyut, 635 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 17th September A.D. 1274, Āshvina full moon (luni) ended at 60 (14 hrs. 30 min.). In A.D. 1273 week-day was Thursday.
150	128	Thursday, the 10th waxing of Nadaw, 636 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 14th December A.D. 1275 Mārgaśīrṣa bahula 10 began at 91 (18 hrs. 30 min.); it ended next day at 74 (20 hrs. 10 min.). In A.D. 1274 N.B.—Expired year.
151	129	Tuesday, the full moon of Tazauingmon, 638 Sakkaraj.	On Tuesday, 19th October A.D. 1277 Kārttika full moon (luni) began at 37 (6 hrs. 30 min.); it ended next day at 35 (19 hrs. 25 min.). The Kārttika was Āshādhā the first of two months bearing the same name. (In A.D. 1276 the week-day was Saturday.) N.B.—Expired year. Āshādhā months are seldom referred to in Indian inscriptions, but they do not seem to have been avoided in Burma for making dates.
152	130	Wednesday, the 5th waxing of Tazauingmon, 639 Sakkaraj. (X)	A.D. 1277, Āshādhā Kārttika Sunday; A.D. 1278, Nijā Kārttika Monday; A.D. 1278, Saturday.
153	130	Sunday, the 1st waxing of Nadaw, 641 Sakkaraj.	On Sunday, 5th November A.D. 1279, Mārgaśīrṣa sukla 1 began at 57 (10 hrs. 50 min.); it ended next day at 71 (19 hrs. 30 min.). Note that a sukla 1 begins not late in the day as usual, rather than the new moon (luni) of Āmāvāsya which was current practically throughout the day.
154	131	Sunday, the 6th waxing of Tazauingmon.	On Sunday, 25th November A.D. 1279, Mārgaśīrṣa bahula 6 ended at 38 (9 hrs. 10 min.).
155	131	Tuesday, the full moon of Wazo, 648 Sakkaraj. (X)	Possibly this only means Tuesday near the full moon (luni) in Āshādhā, when there was also a Lunar Eclipse, on Thursday, 29th June at 35 (8 hrs. 25 min.). In A.D. 1285 the Āshādhā full moon (luni) ended on Monday, 12th June at 53 (18 hrs. 45 min.) and was not connected with Tuesday.
156	132	Monday, 12th waxing of Wazo, 651 Sakkaraj. (X)	A.D. 1289, Friday; A.D. 1290, Wednesday.
157	132	Wednesday, the 11th waxing of Pyatho, 650 Sakkaraj.	On Wednesday, 19th January A.D. 1295, Pausla bahula 11 began at 69 (14 hrs. 30 min.); it ended next day at 10 (4 hrs. 30 min.).
158	132	Monday, the 9th waxing of Tabauing.	N.B.—Expired year. See the inscription.
159	132	Monday, the 5th waxing of Tagu, 633 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 24th March A.D. 1293, Chaitra sukla 5 ended at 97 (23 hrs. 30 min.). N.B.—This was Chaitra at the end of the year 1291-92 (1553 Sakkaraj).
160	133	Monday, the 5th waxing of Pyatho, 704 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 2nd December A.D. 1223, Pausla sukla 5 began at 69 (14 hrs. 50 min.); it ended next day at 51 (18 hrs. 45 min.).
161	134	Thursday, the 13th waxing of Tazauingmon, 727 Sakkaraj.	A.D. 1335, Tuesday; A.D. 1336, Sunday.
162	135	Thursday, the 5th waxing of Tazauingmon, 752 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 13th October A.D. 1390, Kārttika sukla 5 was current all day having begun at 98 (23 hrs. 30 min.) of Wednesday and ending at 100 (10 hrs. 30 min.) on Friday.
163	135	Saturday, the full moon of Tazauingmon, 641 Sakkaraj.	On Saturday, 1st November A.D. 1299, Kārttika full moon (luni) ended at 73 (19 hrs. 40 min.) when there was also a lunar eclipse.
164	135	Sunday, the 9th waxing of Thadingyut, 627 Sakkaraj.	On Sunday, 4th October A.D. 1265, Āshvina bahula 9 ended at 95 (22 hrs. 45 min.).

"Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava" Translation with notes by U Tun Nyein.

APPENDIX H—continued.

A list of dates in the Burmese common era found in the "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava," with their equivalents in English—continued.

Serial No.	Page of book.*	Date as in book.	English equivalent.
165	135	Monday, the 9th waning of Nadaw, 631 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 8th December A.D. 1270; Mārgaśīra bahula 9 ended at '72 (17 hrs. 20 min.). N.B.—Expired year.
166	156	Friday, the 12th waxing of Wazo, 664 Sakkaraj.	There were two Āshādhas in the year A.D. 1302 and the sukla 13 may belong to either of them. For, on Friday, 22nd June, sukla 12 of Adhika Āshādha began at '60 (14 hrs. 30 min.) ending next day at '47 (13 hrs. 45 min.) and on Friday, 6th July sukla 12 of Nija Āshādha began at '50 (12 hrs. 0 min.), ending next day at '56 (12 hrs. 0 min.). Either of these dates may be taken as the equivalent English date.
167	137	Friday, the 13th waxing of Nayon, 636 Sakkaraj.	On Friday, 7th June A.D. 1275, sukla 13 of Nija Jyeshtha ended at '84 (20 hrs. 10 min.). In A.D. 1274 the week-day was Sunday. N.B.—Expired year.
168	137	Saturday, the 3rd waning of Tabodwe, 661 Sakkaraj.	On Saturday, 28th January A.D. 1301, Magha bahula 3 ended at '06 (1 hr. 30 min.). In A.D. 1299-1300 the week day was Wednesday. N.B.—Expired year.
169	140	Saturday, the full moon of Waung, 663 Sakkaraj.	On Saturday was the day after Sravana full moon which ended at '61 (14 hrs. 40 min.) on Friday, 21st July A.D. 1301. See remarks on No. 159.
170	141	Friday, the 1st waxing of Tazungmon, 740 Sakkaraj.	On Friday, 22nd October A.D. 1378, Kārttika sukla 1 began at '11 (2 hrs. 40 min.); it ended next day at '17 (4 hrs. 5 min.).
171	148	Saturday, the full moon of Waung, 663 Sakkaraj.	See note on No. 169.
172	143	Thursday, the 10th waning of Tabodwe, 631 Sakkaraj. (X)	A.D. 1329-30, Tuesday; A.D. 1330-31, Sunday.
173	143	Thursday, the 3rd waxing of Thadingyut, 696 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 1st September A.D. 1334, Āśvina sukla 3 began at '21 (22 hrs. 30 min.); it ended next day '23 (5 hrs. 20 min.).
174	144	Thursday, the 9th waxing of Wazo, 632 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 18th June A.D. 1271, Āshādha sukla 9 ended at '63 (15 hrs. 10 min.). In A.D. 1270 the week day was Sunday. N.B.—Expired year.
175	146	Sunday, the full moon of Wazo, 702 Sakkaraj.	On Sunday, 9th July A.D. 1340, the full moon Nija Āshādha ended at '94 (22 hrs. 30 min.).
176	147	Tuesday, the 6th waxing of Tagu, 721 Sakkaraj.	On Tuesday, 7th April A.D. 1360 Chaitra bahula 6 began at '23 (5 hrs. 30 min.) ending next day at '16 (3 hrs. 50 min.). This was Chaitra at the end of the Indian Scler year A.D. 1359-60.
177	147	Saturday, the 1st waxing of Tawthvin, 719 Sakkaraj. (X)	A.D. 1363, Thursday; A.D. 1364 Tuesday Adhika Bhādrapada (Wednesday, Nija Bhādrapada).
178	148	Saturday, the 7th waning of Tazungmon, 737 Sakkaraj. (X)	A.D. 1375, Kārttika bahula 7 fell on a Friday and in A.D. 1376 on a Tuesday.
179	148	Thursday, the 6th waning of Wazo, 731 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 27th December A.D. 1369, Pausa bahula 6 ended at '10 (4 hrs. 45 min.).
180	152	Wednesday, the 10th waxing of Pyatho, 749 Sakkaraj.	On Wednesday, 23rd December A.D. 1388, Pausa sukla 10 ended at '84 (20 hrs. 10 min.). In A.D. 1387 the week day was Friday. N.B.—Expired year.
181	152	Thursday, the 2nd waxing of Tabawng, 737 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 21st February A.D. 1376, Phālguna sukla 2 began at '27 (6 hrs. 30 min.). It ended next day at '35 (6 hrs. 0 min.).
182	156	Saturday, the 6th waxing of Tabodwe, 741 Sakkaraj. (X)	A.D. 1359-60, Friday; A.D. 1360-61, Wednesday.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX H—continued.

A list of dates in the Burmese common era found in the "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava," with their equivalents in English—continued.

Serial No.	Page of book.*	Date as in book.	English equivalent.
183	157	Monday, the 6th waning of Tazungmon, 730 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 30th October A.D. 1365, Kārttika bahula 5 began at '51 (12 hrs. 15 min.) and ended next day at '56 (11 hrs. 30 min.).
184	157	Monday, the full moon of Wazo, 731 Sakkaraj.	On Monday, 8th July A.D. 1370, Āshādha full moon began at '48 (11 hrs. 30 min.) it ended next day at '46 (11 hrs. 0 min.). N.B.—Expired year.
185	159	Thursday, the full moon of Nayon, 774 Sakkaraj.	A.D. 1412, Tuesday; A.D. 1413, Sunday.
186	160	Thursday, the 5th waxing of Nayon, 793 Sakkaraj.	A.D. 1431 Wednesday; A.D. 1432 Sunday. The 14th is perhaps 6th waxing which would be Thursday, 17th May A.D. 1431 ending at '06 (15 hrs. 50 min.). See Mr. Taw Sein Ko's note on page 114 where he says that 6 is written very like 5 in the early inscriptions.
187	164	Wednesday, the 12th waxing of Wazo, 760 Sakkaraj.	On Wednesday, 27th June A.D. 1390, Āshādha sukla 12 ended at '50 (13 hrs. 30 min.).
188	165	Thursday, the 5th waxing of Nayon, 754 Sakkaraj.	On Thursday, 15th May A.D. 1393, Jyeshtha sukla 5 began at '29 (21 hrs. 20 min.) it ended next day at '28 (22 hrs. 0 min.). In A.D. 1392 the week-day was Monday. N.B.—Expired year.

* "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava" Translation with notes by U Tun Nyein.

* "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava" Translation with notes by U Tun Nyein.

APPENDIX H—concluded.

A list of dates in Burmese common era found in the "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava," with their equivalents in English—concluded.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY—FEBRUARY 1893.

KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS OF DHAMMACETI 1476 A.D. (BY MR. TAW SEIN KO).
Reverse face of the second stone.

Serial No.	Date as in book.	English equivalent.
1	Sunday, the 11th day of the dark half of the month Māgha, 837 Sakkaraj—on Monday the 16th day of the dark half of the same month.	A.D. 1476-77. Māgha bahula 11 ended on Sunday and bahula 12 on Monday, 9th and 10th January respectively, A.D. 1477.
2	Sunday, the 9th day of the light half of the month of Chaitra.	In A.D. 1476, Chaitra sukla 9 began on Sunday, 3rd March, ending at '48 (11 hrs. 30 min.) next day.
3	Sunday, the 1st day of the dark half of the month Āshāḍha.	A.D. 1479, Sunday, 4th July, Āshāḍha bahula 1 began at '06 (1 hr. 30 min.) and ended next day at '19 (2 hrs. 50 min.).
4	Wednesday, the 11th day of the dark half of the month of Āshāḍha.	A.D. 1479, Wednesday, 14th July, Āshāḍha (there was only one Āshāḍha this year) began at '54 (13 hrs. 0 min.) and ended next day at '50 (12 hrs. 0 min.).
5	Wednesday, the 2nd day of the light half of the month of Bhādrapada.	In A.D. 1479, on Wednesday, 18th August, Bhādrapada sukla 2 began at '40 (9 hrs. 35 min.) and ended next day at '31 (7 hrs. 30 min.).
6	Thursday, the 2nd day of the dark half of the same month (Bhādrapada).	In A.D. 1479, on Thursday, 22nd September, Bhādrapada bahula 2 began at '46 (11 hrs. 0 min.) and ended next day at '53 (12 hrs. 30 min.).
7	Wednesday, the 4th day of the light half of the month of Vaiśākha.	In A.D. 1477, Vaiśākha sukla 4 began on 16th April at '31 (7 hrs. 30 min.) and ended next day at '21 (5 hrs. 0 min.).
8	Friday, the 12th day of the dark half of the month of Vaiśākha.	In A.D. 1477, Vaiśākha bahula 12 began on Friday 9th May, A.D. 1477 at '29 (7 hrs. 0 min.) and ended next day at '21 (5 hrs. 0 min.).
9	Tuesday, the 13th day of the light half of the month Āshāḍha.	Tuesday, 24th June, A.D. 1477, Āshāḍha sukla 13 ended at '21 (5 hrs. 0 min.).
10	Wednesday, the new moon day of the month of Bhādrapada, 840 Sakkaraj.	Wednesday, 15th September, A.D. 1479; tithi ended at '85 (20 hrs. 25 min.).
11	Friday, the 1st day of the light half of the month of Kārtika.	On Friday, 15th October, A.D. 1479; Kārtika sukla 1 began at '27 (6 hrs. 30 min.) and ended next day at '40 (4 hrs. 45 min.).
12	Monday, the 11th day of the light half of the month of Kārtika.	Kārtika sukla 11 began on Monday, 25th October at '47 (11 hrs. 20 min.) and ended next day at '56 (13 hrs. 30 min.).
13	Friday, the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Kārtika.	On Friday, 28th November, A.D. 1479; the tithi ended at '83 (20 hrs. 0 min.).
<i>Obverse face of the third stone.</i>		
14	Thursday, the 8th day of the light half of the month of Avasuya, 838 Sakkaraj.	26th September, A.D. 1476; tithi ended at '69 (16 hrs. 30 min.).
15	Tuesday, the 13th day of the light half of the month of Avasuya.	On Tuesday, 1st October, the tithi ended at '45 (10 hrs. 45 min.).
16	Saturday, the 7th day of the light half of the month of Margasira.	On Saturday, 3rd November A.D. 1476, the tithi ended at '83 (20 hrs. 0 min.).
17	Monday, the 9th day of the light half of the month of Margasira.	On Monday, 25th November A.D. 1476, the tithi ended at '69 (16 hrs. 30 min.).

APPENDIX I

REPORT OF THE HONORARY ARCHAEOLOGICAL OFFICER FOR ARAKAN,
FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MARCH 1922.

With the help of Rs. 3,000 generously contributed by Government and a

further sum of Rs. 3,000 collected from the people, the work of conserving the Shitthaung Temple was taken in hand by the Public Works Department early in the year 1921. Portions of the roof of the south gallery having fallen in, it was found impossible to restore it. So it was decided to preserve that part of the gallery by strengthening it by a supporting arch built from inside. This has been done. The roof of the whole building from outside has also been made water-tight and the workmen are now engaged in rebuilding a portion of the north-west angle of the outer gallery which completely caved in a few rains ago. As soon as this is accomplished the temple as a whole will be in a fit condition to resist the destructive forces of nature for many years. Early in September the Public Works Department withdrew its supervision over the works and it was enthusiastically taken up by the Trustees who, since that time, have been daily attending the temple in turn. Moreover, throughout the year the Trustees have been collecting funds with commendable energy, and as a result they are now in a position to spend a further sum of about Rs. 2,000. They are indeed to be congratulated upon the good work they have done during the year.

Besides the Shitthaung Temple another very fine solid stone pagoda, known as a Ratanamaung, having an octagonal base, was also repaired during the year. This meritorious work is the achievement of U Shwe Tha U, merchant and land-owner of Myohaung. He is also an Honorary Magistrate and President of the Shitthaung Trust. In undertaking to pay for the entire cost of the repairs he has already spent nearly Rs. 3,000 on the main structure itself. He is now engaged in repairing the triple walls that surround the pagoda and the beautiful image shrine to the east of it. Finally he will completely restore the unique little stone building situated to the north-east corner of the enclosure. It has a vaulted roof and a small channel running along the middle of the whole length of the floor. In this Hall or Upasthānasālā the Bhikkhus or "members of the order" met on the nights of new and full moon to read their rules and go through their confessional forms. Here they also met for all their more solemn purposes such as ordination, excommunication and the like. Unlike his predecessors the *payataga*, in carrying out the repairs, has strictly adhered to the general principles suggested to him by Mr. Duroiselle during his visit to Arakan.

During the year under report the arch over the western gateway of the old city wall of Myohaung completely collapsed. As it was considered desirable to preserve it as an historic landmark, arrangements are now being made to rebuild the arch by contribution from the District Cess Fund as well as from a few wealthy people of Myohaung.

Three Arakanese silver coins were found during the year. One is undoubtedly of the Wesali dynasty (788—937 A.D.). It bears the emblems of the Sivite cult—the figure of a reclining bull and the trident of Śiva with garlands [see catalogue of the Arakanese Coins].

The second is a somewhat recumbent humped bull and the trident of Śiva with garlands [see catalogue of the Arakanese Coins]. So far as is known it has what larger coin covered with an unknown inscription. Both these coins are now with the Epigraphist not been found in Arakan before. Both these coins are now with the Epigraphist to the Government of India, Madras, to whom they were sent for decipherment. The third coin is of the Mrauk-U dynasty (1404—1784 A.D.), and is not included in the catalogue of coins in the Phayre Provincial Museum. It was struck during the first regnal year of King Narapadigiri (1638—1645 A.D.) and bears the following inscription on both faces: "3000—သံသရာဇ် နာရပတိ နာရပတိ" Translation: "1000—The Lord of the white and red elephant Narapadigiri."

It may be noted here that on Arakanese coins and epigraphs written in Burmese character and the earliest of which may be assigned to the beginning

of the 16th century A.D., the figure ၁ (1) is written 3, while in the older inscriptions found at Pagan it is always written (1), and the figure ၂ (2) is written 3.

The career of Narapadigri is full of romantic interest. Its parallel is frequently to be met with in the history of almost all countries especially of the East. During the reign of King Thiri-thudhamma-raza (1622-1638 A.D.) there were two ministers by name Nga-Lat-Rone and Nga-Ku-Thala. Both were well known for their wisdom and learning. The latter was the Governor of Iaugngret, a former capital of Arakan, situated a few miles to the south-east of Mrauk-U. Rumour ascribed to him a profound knowledge of black magic by the practice of which, it was popularly supposed, he caused Queen Nat-Shin-May to fall madly in love with him. Being greatly encouraged by the queen he next plotted to ascend the throne. He wrote a sort of poetical composition known as "Nga-tse," which is still popular in this country, and bribed the little boys of Mrauk-U to sing it in the streets at night. By so doing he fully hoped to destroy the power and glory of the king. Meanwhile all these things being known to the other minister Nga-Lat-Rone he conceived it his duty to give timely warning to the king and to explain to him the true significance of the various procedures adopted by Nga-Ku-Thala. But Thiri-thudhamma entirely disregarded the warning with that lack of superstition so rare among monarchs of those days. So Nga-Lat-Rone, scenting future trouble, wisely abandoned the world and in the solitude of a secluded monastery he assumed the yellow robes with the determination to devote the remainder of his life to righteousness and meditation. Seven months after this event the king died. Rightly or wrongly, everybody believed that it was brought about by the power of the black magic practised by the minister Nga-Ku-Thala.

Then the Crown Prince Min Sani—so called because he was born on a Saturday—ascended the throne assuming the name of Thado-Min-Hla (1638 A.D.). Twenty-eight days after the coronation he fell a victim to small-pox; and it was then widely accepted that his untimely end was hastened by his own mother Queen Nat-Shin-May who, pretending to show great anxiety and affection for her son, administered drugs calculated to enhance the virulence of the disease. (In the catalogue already mentioned above he is erroneously referred to as the 22nd king of the Mrauk-u dynasty, whereas he is actually the 20th.) With the death of Thado-min-hla the line of Mrauk-u kings comes to an end. The next 28 kings had no real title to the throne and were generally regarded by native chronicles as usurpers during whose troublous reigns the country rapidly declined, until in 1784 A.D., the Burmese conquest brought about the final dissolution of the kingdom.

Thado-min-hla left no successor. It became necessary for the princes and nobles to elect a king. So Queen Nat-shin-may invited them to attend the conference at the palace where, as soon as they were all assembled, she told them to consider themselves as prisoners until such time as she thought fit to release them. She then declared that in consequence of the death of her husband and son the throne was vacant and that it was her intention that they should choose a suitable person to occupy it. It was patent to them who her lover was, and her design being perfectly apparent, they unanimously voted Nga-ku-thala as their king, securing at the same time their own freedom. So the minister ascended the throne with the title of Narapadigri. As soon as he felt himself secure in his position he refused to have anything to do with the guilty queen who had so much for him.

He believed that a woman who behaved as she did was capable also of doing the same thing. He therefore built her a new palace not far outside the palace which he continued to reside till the end of her life.

At first it was meant to be commemorative as invariably struck in the first regnal year of kings. They were also used for deposit in the relic chamber of pagodas and temples. The Arakanese historian Do We

in his Maha Razawin mentions another use to which coins were also put. According to him, as soon as coins were struck to commemorate a new reign, the king personally deposited them in the hole dedicated to Vasmohara (Bartoli address) which is situated within the enclosure of the Mahamuni Temple. This practice appears to have been a part of the ritual connected with the coronation of Arakanese kings. The official name for a coin or minter is *soo-pa-yei* (Saw-pa-yei) the two together probably means "Chief Minter" or "Royal Minter."

Narathu or Kula-kyamin,
1185-1189 A.D.

Narathu the somewhat expressive nickname "Kula-kyamin." Phayre's classic account of the incident may here be quoted. "The most notorious of this king's crimes was the murder of his father's widow, the daughter of the King of Pateikkara, whom he slew with his own hand. This led to a strange event. The father of the princess, on hearing of the murder of his daughter, disguised eight soldiers as Brahmans, who were sworn to avenge the crime. They arrived at Pagan, and were introduced into the palace under pretence of blessing the king. They killed him with a sword; after which they either killed each other or committed suicide, so that all died in the palace. This king is known to this day as "Kula-kyamin," or "the king killed by foreigners" (History of Burma, pages 49 and 50).

Shweinthi, Alaungsihu's mother, fell in love with a Pateikkara Prince, and Hmannan definitely states and there is no reason to doubt it, that Alaungsihu himself had as one of his queens a Pateikkara Princess. (Hmannan, printed Volume I, page 306). On the other hand, the greatest Arakanese historian Do We, in his Maha Razawin, in referring to the acquisition of this nickname by Narathu, gives a totally different version of the incidents connected with it. The following is a translation of the passage in which the above occurs:—

"During the reign of King Thirihapati of Arakan a certain king Pateikkara of the kingdom of Marawa (မာဝာဝတီ) sent his two daughters Thinzin and Manlari as presents to Thirihapati and the king of Tampadipa respectively. Narathu, King of Pagan (Kyaw-thin-kha of Arakanese history), hearing about this, sent Thado-min-din, the Governor of Taungdwin, with an army to intercept the mission at the Thingandaung Pass in the Yomas (this is to the north of Mount Victoria and lies at the lowest end of Chin Hills District). This army consisted of 5,000 Salin Chins, 2,000 cavalry from 'Tharekhetra' and 15,000 soldiers from Pagan. The King of Arakan having also heard of this mission, sent his General Thiri-dhama-thiri with an army consisting of 20,000 Arakanese and 10,000 Indian troops. The two armies met at the Pass and in the battle that ensued the Arakanese captured 500 of the enemy cavalry and all the Chins as well as the Burmese General. When Thiri-dhama-thiri took over the princesses and their escort he was also given the forwarding letter sent by King Pateikkara. On its perusal he was surprised to find out that one of the princesses, Thinzin, was meant to be presented to his own king, and the other, Manlari, to the King of Tampadipa. So thinking that a real king could never betray a sacred trust, he sent the Princess Manlari to Pagan under the protection of the Burmese General Thado-min-din requesting him to tell his King Narathu the full facts of the case and to ask him to send the princess to Tampadipa. When she reached Pagan, Narathu forcibly detained her in his seraglio. In her anger and shame the princess severely rebuked him for his unkindly and disgraceful conduct. This made Narathu very angry and he forthwith drew his sword and killed her. (Do We, Maha Razawin, 300). As to the rest regarding the circumstances that attended the death of Narathu, it is exactly the same as the Burmese account.

The problem that now confronts us is whether the Arakanese or Burmese version is correct. The age in which these events took place is rather remote. There is practically no contemporary documentary evidence available. And I thoroughly agree with the view held by Mr. Harvey that none of our historians can, on the material, e.g., palm leaf on which they are written, go back three centuries at the outside. For the material is too perishable, the climate too destructive, the old governments too unstable for preservation of archives even

though proper record-room methods are understood. So in the present stage of our information, it will be best to leave the matter as it now stands. The future may have something more in store for us.

In spite of the fact that a great deal has already been written regarding the name Pateikkara, nothing definite seems to have yet been arrived at. Phayre says, "This word as used

Pateikkara.

in the Burmese history may represent the title of a king or the name of a country. In either case it refers to a part of Bengal where Buddha was worshipped. Whether the word has any connection with the Balhara of the Arab voyagers, or with the Pala kings who still reigned in Bengal in the 11th century is uncertain" (Phayre, History of Burma, page 38, foot-note). Gerini seems to think that "Pateikkara" is the name of a country and identifies it with modern Chittagong (Gerini, Researches on Ptolemy's Geography, page 740). U Tun Nyein identifies it with Chittagong (Descriptions of Pagan, etc., Rangoon, 1899, page 4, foot-note). On the other hand, Spearman is inclined to the belief that it refers to Ceylon. In writing of the foreigners who slew Narathu, he states, "Who these foreigners were is uncertain. According to Burney they were Chittagonians but it appears more probable that they were Sinhalese. In Alaungsithu's reign there was considerable intercourse between Burma and Ceylon, principally through the port of Bassein" (Spearman, British Burma Gazetteer, 1880, Volume I, page 242).

The Arakanese history, to which a reference has already been made, now comes forward with additional information on the subject. According to it, the term "Pateikkara" denotes the name or title of a king, and the country to which he belonged is called Marawa. Furthermore, the itinerary of the mission which conveyed the Princesses Thinza and Manlari seems to suggest that the Marawa country is situated to the north of Arakan, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Manipur. When *Kaurasagri* made over Tagaung to his younger brother, he ascended the Chindwin and founded Kale-taung-nyo or Razagro city. Later on the neighbouring King of Maurang (2058) is said to have presented him with a daughter principally because of the strength and influence which such an alliance would create. Can it therefore be possible that this ancient name "Maurang" is preserved in the more recent one of Marawa?

The identification of the name Htaw-ra-gri presents a somewhat difficult problem. The name is not mentioned in any of the existing Arakanese works. Maung Kala's manuscript history of Burma states: "In 1403 A.D. hearing that the Arakanese were attacking Laungshé, Minkhaung, the King of Ava, ordered his son Min-re-kyaw-zwa, then only a lad of 13 years of age, to march against the invaders. The two armies met at Na-nwin-taung (3385000) resulting in the defeat of the Arakanese and the loss of their King Htaw-ra-gri." Spearman, in his Gazetteer, 1880, page 265, says: "At the beginning of the 15th century differences arose between Arakan and Burma and the sovereign of the former, called Thinza in Arakanese and Htaw-ra-gri in Burmese, invaded Burma and penetrated into the provinces of Law and Laungshé. A Burman force was sent against him and a rebellion having broken out in his own country he retired but was overtaken and defeated and he himself killed." Then again Phayre in his history of Burma, page 72, has the following: "The Burmese army marched into Arakan across the mountain pass of Nagan, and the king of that country fled to Bengal."

Now it is proved beyond possibility of doubt that when Min-re-kyaw-zwa, Prince of Ava, invaded Arakan the ruler of that country was called Nara-meil-hla or Saw Mwan. He proved himself to be a thoroughly unworthy king. He cared more for the enhancement of his personal pleasures than for that of the prosperity of his subjects. The advice of his ministers was entirely disregarded, with the result that the country went to rack and ruin. So that when the Burmese army crossed over into Arakan he found himself unable to put up a sufficiently large army of opposition. He therefore fled to Bengal where at the Court of Sultan Ahmed Shah, the independent ruler of that country, he whiled away his days in idleness and comfort. After an absence of 24 years and during the reign of the next King Sultan Nasir-ud-din Shah, who gave him all the necessary assistance, he returned to Arakan and re-occupied the throne of his father.

Such, in brief, is the story of King Saw Mwan. The first two extracts which represent Htaw-ra-gri as King of Arakan instead of Saw Mwan cannot obviously be accurate since he is stated to have been killed at the battle of Nagan-taung which is in the An or Natyegan Pass. He might be only a Governor of the eastern district of An but, as it is not unusual in the history of this country for distant Governors to set themselves up as independent monarchs whenever they found the central government weak and the king powerless, it is reasonable to suppose that he, in the usual bombast of those days, styled himself a king.

On the other hand, Spearman cannot be right in identifying Thinza with the then King of Arakan. Thinza or Thin-tse ruled from 1390 to 1394 A.D. and died several years previous to the events which now form the subject of discussion. It is true he invaded Burma but he had to return almost from the frontier in order to put down a rebellion headed by the Governor of Sandoway. He was killed by the rebels immediately outside the walls of his capital Launggret.

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